THE ART BULLETIN

SEPTEMBER 1942

FIG. 1. Ghent, St. Bavo: Van Eyck, Altarpiece of the Lamb, Detail of Right Shutter

FIG. 2. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: MS 43, Huntingfield Psalter, XII Century, fol. 8

FIG. 3. Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS Junius II, Caedmon Poems, XI Century, fol. 49

FIG. 4. Auxerre, Cathedral: Detail of Relief from Façade, XIII Century

FIG. 5. London, British Museum: Cotton MS Tiberius C VI, Psalter, XI Century, fol. 14

FIG. 6. Cambridge, St. John's College: MS 231, Psalter, Late XIII Century

"CAIN'S JAW-BONE THAT DID THE FIRST MURDER"

BY MEYER SCHAPIRO

I

IN the graveyard scene in *Hamlet*, the prince says: "That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once; how the knave jowls it to the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone that did the first murder! It might be the pate of a politician, which this ass now o'er-reaches; one that would circumvent God, might it not?" (Act v, Scene 1, 83-87.)

In this playfully ambiguous image, the poet draws on an old Anglo-Saxon tradition, as several writers have shown.[1] The jaw-bone is not Cain's, but the ass's with which Cain slew Abel. Since the ninth century, the weapon of Cain in English vernacular accounts of the first murder is the jaw-bone of an ass.[2] Even the alternative meaning, that Cain bit Abel to death, is implied in another English legend: in the verse *Life of Adam and Eve*, Eve dreams of the blood of Abel in his brother's mouth.[3]

How did the jaw-bone come to replace the usual club or agricultural implement as the weapon of Cain? Is this simply a transposition from the story of Samson, or are there other factors peculiar to England which account for the change? Before I attempt to answer these questions, I shall consider the history of Cain's jaw-bone in art.

This peculiar conception has been observed in continental paintings of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.[4] It appears on the *Petrialtar* by Master Bertram in Hamburg (1379) and in the Van Eyck retable in Ghent (Fig. 1).[5]

There is no doubt that these examples are derived from England. Bonnell, the only scholar to discuss the relation of the English texts to the images, supposed that the English conceptions were disseminated through the mystery-plays, since the jaw-bone, which is not mentioned in the theological writings or Latin Bible commentaries, is found in the Towneley and Hegge cycles.[6] But the only continental mystery-play he could cite is a much later Celtic Breton work of *ca.* 1550.[7] He was unaware that there exists a whole series of English illustrations of the murder of Abel with the jaw-bone from the eleventh to the sixteenth century (Figs. 2 and 6).[8]

1. W. W. Skeat, "Cain's Jaw-bone," *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, II, 1880, 143; R.R., *ibid.*, 1880, 162; *ibid.*, III, 1881, 4; W. Pengelly, *ibid.*, IV, 1881, 245; Oliver F. Emerson, "Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXI, 1906, 851 ff.; J. K. Bonnell, "Cain's Jaw-Bone," *ibid.*, XXXIX, 1924, 140-46.

2. The chief examples are the prose *Solomon and Saturn* (J. M. Kemble, *The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis*, London, 1843, p. 187), *The Master of Oxford's Catechism* (*ibid.*, p. 219), the Northumbrian poem, *Cursor Mundi* (Early English Text Society edition, line 1073), the prose *Life of Adam and Eve*, Caxton's *Game of the Chesse* (*ca.* 1474), the Towneley and Hegge plays.

3. Emerson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 851, 852. For the Jewish sources of this work and the particular legend, see Emerson, p. 837, and below, note 69.

4. Bonnell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 143 ff.

5. Bonnell lists also the following examples: a woodcut of 1494 in the Lübeck Bible; two etchings by Lucas van Leyden; and a woodcut by H. S. Beham.

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Charles de Tolnay for the photograph of the detail of the Ghent retable reproduced in Fig. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 143 ff.

7. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

8. Cf. British Museum, Cotton MS Claudius B. iv, fol. 8ᵛ (Aelfric, Paraphrase of the Hexateuch), eleventh century; British Museum, Cotton MS Nero c. iv, fol. 2 (Winchester Psalter), twelfth century; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 43, fol. 8 (Huntingfield Psalter), twelfth century (Fig. 2); Leyden University, MS latin 76 (Psalter of Saint Louis;—see H. Omont, *Miniatures du psautier de saint Louis à Leyde*, Leyden, 1902, pl. 4); Dyson Perrins collection, MS 1, fol. 9 (miniatures from a Psalter of the late twelfth century; see *Catalogue*, ed. Warner, 1920, p. 6, no. 4); Dyson Perrins collection, Oscott Psalter, fol. 16ᵛ, thirteenth century; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, De Brailles Psalter, *ca.* 1240 (see E. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, Paris, 1926, pl. 75a); Eton College, MS 177, fol. 2 (Bible miniatures), thirteenth century; Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 231

The oldest example is a miniature in the manuscript of Aelfric's Paraphrase of the Hexateuch, probably of the second quarter of the eleventh century.[9] The text of Aelfric, faithful to the Bible, specifies no instrument of murder.[10] The painter was apparently inspired by vernacular tradition or by an image from another source. In a drawing in the Caedmon manuscript of Junius (Fig. 3),[11] somewhat earlier in the eleventh century, Cain strikes Abel with a club, although here too the text is silent about the weapon. The only Anglo-Saxon writing prior to the ninth century that speaks of a weapon is a passage in *Beowulf*, where a sword is mentioned—Cain is called the sword-slayer of his brother.[12]

There is one other region in which the jaw-bone of an animal is the instrument of Cain. I refer to Ireland, where Arthur Kingsley Porter observed it on several stone-crosses of the tenth century.[13] The form of the weapon is unclear on these ancient weathered monuments, and Porter was able to identify it by means of a passage in the Book of Lecan, an Irish compilation of the early fifteenth century: "Cain took in his hand the jaw-bone of a camel, so that he slew Abel." The camel is so obviously an exotic beast in Ireland that we are led to suspect an eastern tradition. The story of Samson might have suggested the jaw-bone of an ass, but the camel is more specifically eastern than the ass.[14] Yet I have found no eastern account or image of the murder, Christian, Islamic, or Jewish, in which the jaw-bone appears.[15]

What is the relation of the English and the Irish versions? The jaw-bone is not the only weapon in the English images or literary versions of the story, but its frequency in England and rarity on the continent before the fourteenth century, indicate a direct connection between the English and the Irish examples. So singular a detail could hardly have been imagined independently in two adjacent islands, remote from the original sources of Christian iconography. Porter was not aware of the English artistic or literary tradition and therefore conceived of the jaw-bone as an Irish peculiarity. If we followed his general assumptions about the precedence of Irish art, we should have to infer that this detail came to England from Ireland (whatever its ultimate source), since the oldest preserved image

(Psalter, end of thirteenth century) (Fig. 6); British Museum, Royal MS 2. B. vii (*The Queen Mary's Psalter*, ed. Warner, 1912, pl. 8), early fourteenth century; Holkham Hall, MS 666 (picture-book of the Bible, fourteenth century —published by M. R. James in the *Walpole Society Annual*, XI, 1922–23, pl. II); British Museum Add. MS 39810, fol. 7 (East Anglian Psalter, fourteenth century; see *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, British Museum, Series IV, 1928, pl. XXVI); New York Public Library, De la Twyre Psalter, fourteenth century; woodcut in printed Bible, Day and Serres, 1549, cited by R.R. in *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, II, 1880, 162, and in English printed Bibles of 1572 and 1578 (Stuart Collection, New York Public Library).

9. British Museum, Cotton MS Claudius B. iv, fol. 8. Aelfric's dates are *ca.* 955 to 1020(?).

10. S. J. Crawford, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch. Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis* (Early English Text Society, no. 160), London, 1922, p. 92.

11. Oxford, Bodleian MS Junius 11, fol. 49; reproduced in C. W. Kennedy, *The Caedmon Poems*, 1916, and I. Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry*, London, 1927.

12. Lines 1261, 1262; the text is of the seventh century, the only manuscript *ca.* 1000.

13. *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland*, New Haven, 1931, p. 121. He cites examples on the crosses of Muire-

dach at Monasterboice, of Durrow, Moone, Castledermot, Camus, Donoughmore, and Arboe, but the jaw-bone is clear only in Monasterboice (fig. 239) and fairly clear in Durrow (fig. 241). A more recent writer, Françoise Henry, *La sculpture irlandaise*, Paris, 1933, ignores Porter's identification of the weapon, and although she recognizes the scene of Cain and Abel in Durrow beside Adam and Eve, interprets the corresponding scene of Monasterboice as "des combats qui font peut-être allusion à la vie de David ou à celle de Samson" (I, pp. 156, 157).

14. Asses and camels are mentioned together in the Old Testament—Gen. 12: 16 and Exod. 9: 3, but it is possible that the connection of the ass and the camel as symbols of the giant descendants of Cain in the Book of Enoch is a factor in this substitution. For the passage in the Book of Enoch, 86: 4, see Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, II, 250.

15. In the *Jüdisches Lexikon* (ed. Herlitz and Kirschner), Berlin, 1927, I, 14, the jaw-bone is listed among the instruments of Cain in Jewish tradition, reference being made to the jaw-bone of an ass used by Samson (Judges 15: 15–17). But the writer has simply misquoted V. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada, der Apokryphen, der hellenischen, christlichen und muhammedanischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 51, who states after Fabricius, *Codex Pseudoepigraphicus*, I, 113, that most painters show Cain with a jaw-bone.

that can be dated with any certainty is an Irish work of the early tenth century, the Muiredach Cross in Monasterboice.[16] But in spite of the greater antiquity of the crosses, the Irish text adduced by Porter points in the opposite direction. It includes a sentence which he neglected and which is a valuable clue to the source of the Irish examples. The account of Abel's murder is followed by these words: "The learned tell us that these stones have not grown since the blood of Abel touched them."[17] But no stones are mentioned in the preceding sentence. A commentator on the passage, Mr. St. John Seymour, has therefore inferred that the Irish is a confused, derivative version.[18] "The Irish writer has here blundered his original which appears as follows in the Anglo-Saxon prose *Solomon and Saturn*,—'Tell me why stones are not fruitful? I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon a stone when Cain slew him with the jaw-bone of an ass'."[19] This Anglo-Saxon text of the ninth century is older than the Irish sculptures of the subject, and is the most ancient literary source of the jaw-bone as Cain's weapon.

In Anglo-Saxon art, not only the jaw-bone, but the blood falling upon the stone is represented. In a drawing in the Caedmon manuscript, Abel's bleeding head is shown striking a rock (Fig. 3),[20] and in a later manuscript in Eton College,[21] Abel lies prostrate on a green rock beneath Cain with the jaw-bone.

In the explanation of the barrenness of the rocks, the Anglo-Saxon text is based on apocryphal Jewish accounts of Abel's death. If the jaw-bone is unknown in the latter, the notion that Abel's blood fell on a stone echoes the blood sacrifices of the Semitic East. The Arab sanctuaries in pagan times usually consisted of sacred stones which were smeared with the blood of the victims.[22] It was believed that rain, dew, and vegetation were regulated at their source, the holy rock in Jerusalem, from which all the sweet waters issued and spread over the earth.[23] According to Jewish tradition, the place of Cain and Abel's offerings was the very spot where the altar of Jerusalem was to stand.[24] In one Jewish legend, "God showed Cain the place where he had killed Abel, where the blood bubbled and where nothing grows till this day."[25] The blood remained clinging to the wood and stones without becoming absorbed, and the earth, originally a level surface, became mountainous as a punishment for having received Abel's blood. God cursed the ground that it might not yield fruit to Cain. The ground changed and spoiled at the very moment of Abel's violent end; trees and plants refused to yield at this spot.[26]

The confusion of the Irish text betrays its derivative character. In the period of the oldest Irish sculptures, the conception was already established in Anglo-Saxon literature and probably in art.[27]

16. It is dated by inference from the inscription naming Muiredach, who died in 924 or 925. See Henry, *op. cit.*, I, 16.

17. St. John D. Seymour, "The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXXVI, 1922, 129.

18. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

19. J. M. Kemble, *The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis*, London, 1843, p. 187.

20. See note 11 above.

21. MS 177, fol. 2 (biblical images), thirteenth century.

22. W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, new ed., London, 1914, pp. 201, 205, 233 ff.

23. D. Feuchtwang, "Das Wasseropfer und die damit verbundenen Zeremonien," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, N.F. XVIII, XIX, 1910; A. J. Wensinck, "The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke*

Akademie van Wetenschapen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, XVII, 1916.

24. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, I, Philadelphia, 1909, 107.

25. *Ibid.*, V, 1925, 140.

26. *Ibid.*, I, 110, 112; V, 142. See also J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, London, 1919, I, 101, 102, on the danger of uncovered, unabsorbed blood, and on Ezek. 24:8: "that it might cause fury to come up to take vengeance, I have set her blood upon the bare rock, that it should not be covered."

27. On the literary connections of England and Ireland in the early Middle Ages, see C. H. Slover, "Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland," *University of Texas Studies in English*, VI, 1926, 5–52; VII, 1927, 5–111; St. John D. Seymour, *Irish Visions of the Other-World*, London, 1930, p. 122; and V. E. Hull, in *Speculum*, IV, 1929, 95 ff.

II

The jaw-bone of Cain we have seen was not confined to the British Isles. In the later
Middle Ages it appears frequently on the continent and in such great works as the Ghent
retable (Fig. 1). This extraordinary detail may be regarded as a specifically English symp-
tom in European art, one of the means of tracing that broad current of insular art on the
continent during the Gothic period.[28]

The motive first seems to take root in the Low Countries where it persists to the present
day. My colleague, Professor Adrian Barnouw, has independently traced the same theme
from the Anglo-Saxon to the vernacular literature of the Netherlands.[29] The jaw-bone of
an ass is Cain's weapon in the thirteenth century in the rhymed Bible of Jacob van Maer-
lant (*ca.* 1235–1300).[30] With this text and the continuous pictorial tradition in England,
we do not have to appeal to the mystery-plays as the source of the continental representa-
tions. I have found no examples in the Low Countries between the verses of Jacob van
Maerlant and the Ghent altarpiece;[31] but the jaw-bone is common in the fifteenth and six-
teenth centuries in manuscripts, paintings, and engravings.[32] In the seventeenth century,
it appears in a drawing by Rembrandt[33] and in Dutch popular Bible imagery,[34] and survives
into the nineteenth century in Belgian Sunday-school teaching.[35]

Are the German examples of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries[36] copied from Nether-
landish models or are they based directly on English works? I cannot venture to decide.
That German Gothic art depends to some extent on England has long been known.[37] But

28. For an excellent account of the influence of English
on continental art in the Middle Ages, and reference to the
older literature, see A. Goldschmidt, "English Influence on
Mediaeval Art," *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of Arthur
Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, II, 721 ff.

29. In an unpublished manuscript which he has kindly
permitted me to read.

30. See *Rymbybel van Jacob van Maerlant*, ed. J. David,
Brussels, 1858, I, 41, lines 864–867:

> The fiend came from hell
> And gave him counsel
> To strike him dead
> With the jaw-bone of an ass.

The poem is dated 1271. Professor Barnouw cites also a
passage in a later Dutch History-Bible that Abel was
killed "with a bone of an ass's head."

31. The murder of Abel is not illustrated in the richly
illuminated manuscript of Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijm Bijbel*
by Michiel van der Borch, dated 1332, in the Hague (Mu-
seum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10. B. 21). It is
possible, however, that the jaw-bone was familiar to
Netherlands artists before Van Maerlant's time. In a minia-
ture of the murder in a manuscript from S. Bertin of *ca.*
1200 (Hague, Royal Library, MS 76. F. 5, fol. 2ᵛ) the asym-
metrically dented, thickened end of the curved club in
Cain's hand may be a vestigial trace of a jaw-bone in the
model. Other miniatures in the same manuscript show
English types—the Hell Mouth, the Ascension with only
the legs of Christ visible, etc.

32. Cf., besides the examples cited by Bonnell (note 5
above), Van Eyck, *Van der Paele Madonna*, 1436, on the
right arm of the Virgin's throne; Dirk Bouts, architectural
frame of the *Descent from the Cross* in Valencia (M. Friedlän-
der, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, III, pl. V), and of the *An-
nunciation* in the Prado (*ibid.*, pl. I); Petrus Christus, *Nativ-
ity*, sculpture of the enframing arch, in the National Gallery,
Washington (*ibid.*, XIV, Nachtr. pl. III); Munich, Staatsbib-
liothek, Deutsche Hs. 1102, Old Testament in Netherlandish,
dated 1439 (Th. Ehrenstein, *Das alte Testament im Bilde*,
Vienna, 1923, p. 89); a manuscript in the Royal Library in

Copenhagen, s. 1605, of about 1500 (*ibid.*, p. 89); a Nether-
landish Bible, dated 1473–1474, in the British Museum,
Add. MS 16951, fol. 23 (A. W. Byvanck and G. J. Hoogewerff,
*La miniature hollandaise dans les manuscrits des 14ᵉ, 15ᵉ et
16ᵉ siècles*, The Hague, 1925, pl. 98); Master of the Beati-
tudes, early sixteenth century, in spandril of a painting of
Christ as a child in the temple, in the Rijksmuseum,
Amsterdam; Master of the Last Supper, sixteenth century,
Brussels, Musée Royal, no. 107, painting of the Last
Supper, wall medallion; Madrid, Old Royal Collection,
Flemish tapestry of the sixteenth century (Calvert, *The
Spanish Royal Tapestries*, London, 1921, pls. 128, 129);
woodcut attributed to Jan Gossaert (Mabuse) (G. Hirth
and R. Muther, *Meister-Holzschnitte aus vier Jahrhunderten*,
Munich, 1893, pls. 122, 123).

33. W. Valentiner, *Rembrandt, Des Meisters Handzeich-
nungen* (*Klassiker der Kunst*), I, no. 3, 4. There is also a
seventeenth-century painting of Cain with the jaw-bone,
attributed to Martin de Vos, in the Cathedral of Seville
(Mas photo 81758-c).

34. Cf. an Amsterdam print reproduced by E. H. Van
Heurck and G. J. Boekenoogen, *Histoire de l'imagerie
populaire flamande*, Brussels, 1910, p. 547, and *L'Ymagier*
(ed. by Alfred Jarry and Remy de Gourmont), Paris, 1894,
I, 45.

35. Emerson, *loc. cit.*, p. 859, n. 2, says that a colleague
of Belgian origin had heard the story of the jaw-bone in
Sunday-school.

36. For the examples listed by Bonnell, see note 5 above;
for the woodcut in the Lübeck Bible of 1494, M. Fried-
länder, *Die Lübecker Bibel*, Munich, 1923, fig. 2.

37. In Master Bertram's *Petrialtar* of 1379, another
panel besides the Cain and Abel is ultimately English in
iconographic conception: the first of the Creation scenes
shows the fall of the rebel angels, a specifically English
theme since about the year 1000. In Bertram's Passion
Altar, the Hell Mouth of the *Anastasis* and the disappear-
ing Christ of the Ascension are based on English art. For
reproductions of these works, see Alexander Dorner,
Meister Bertram von Minden, Berlin, 1937, and A. Stange,
Deutsche Malerei der Gotik, Munich, 1936, II, fig. 166.

the mediation of the Netherlands in this detail is also possible, since the artistic relations of the latter with Germany were so close during these two centuries.

The jaw-bone is exceedingly rare outside of this North European zone which corresponds roughly to the regions of dialects most closely related to Old English. We know that English art was copied in France in the Royal Domain in the thirteenth century; there are miniature paintings like those in the Psalter of Ingeborge and the Leyden Psalter of St. Louis of which the French or English origin was for many years difficult to determine. In the Leyden manuscript,[38] now established as an English work of the end of the twelfth century,[39] Cain's weapon is the jaw-bone. Since the Psalter belonged to St. Louis, later king of France, and a great lover of manuscripts, the diffusion of this element in France is readily conceivable. I have found only one work in the Royal Domain in which it appears, a relief of the later thirteenth century on the façade of the cathedral of Auxerre (Fig. 4). The sculpture is mutilated, and in the scene of the Murder of Abel only the scar of the weapon remains—a curved silhouette, thickened at one end, like the jaw-bone in the English images. In the adjoining panel of the Lord reproaching Cain, where the weapon is better preserved, the form of the jaw-bone is somewhat clearer.[40]

Another possible example of the influence of the English tradition is the painting of the Murder in a remarkable Hebrew manuscript of the fourteenth century from Catalonia, the Sarajevo Haggada. The weapon, which the editors have described as a sword, is not clear; in any case, it does not resemble the swords represented in other pages of the book, but seems to be a femur of some short-legged beast.[41]

III

Why was the jaw-bone chosen as the weapon of Cain in England? The common explanation by the analogy of Samson's slaying the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass does not account for the origin of this detail in England. In Byzantine art a stone is usually indicated,[42] in the West, a club[43] or some agricultural instrument, a hoe or a scythe, proper to the biblical conception of Cain as a farmer;[44] in rare instances, Cain kills his brother with

38. Leyden University Library, MS lat. 76 (H. Omont, *Miniatures du psautier de saint Louis à Leyde*, pl. 4).

39. By James Carson Webster's publication of the paintings of the calendar (omitted in Omont's book), which are almost identical with those of another English Psalter, St. John's College, Cambridge, MS 233 (*The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art*, Evanston and Chicago, 1938, pls. LIX, LXI).

40. There is perhaps a vestige of the jaw-bone in the bone-like club of Cain in a miniature by the "Maître aux Boqueteaux" in the French Livy of Charles V in the Bibliothèque S. Geneviève, MS 777, fol. 7 (H. Martin, *La miniature française*, Paris, pl. 51).

41. See D. H. Müller and J. von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, Vienna, 1898, f. 4. For precise renderings of knife and sword, see fol. 13ᵛ and 27ᵛ.

Knowledge of the English conception by Jewish scribes and artists is not excluded, since the illustration of Old Testament themes in Hebrew manuscripts is sometimes so close in composition and iconographic type to Christian works. It is worth mentioning here that a leaf in the Leyden Psalter of St. Louis (fol. 11ᵛ) has traces of four lines of partially erased Hebrew writing, apparently of the twelfth century.

42. As in the Octateuchs, the Pesaro ivory casket, and Paris, Bibl. nat., MS gr. 74, etc. The stone is also the

weapon in Islamic art: cf. the Morgan Manafi-al-Hayawan (MS 500) and Paris, Bibl. nat., MS suppl. Persan 1313, fol. 15. In some Greek manuscripts (Homilies of James, Vatican MS gr. 1162, Paris, Bibl. nat., MS gr. 1208), a knife is used.

43. The bronze doors of Hildesheim and Monreale, the mosaics of Monreale, the drawing in the Junius Caedmon manuscript, a relief on the west front of Modena cathedral, wall-painting in S. Angelo in Formis, etc.

44. A hoe in a window in Chartres cathedral, the altar of Nicholas of Verdun in Klosterneuburg, and a North French manuscript in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (French MS 5); a mattock in Paris, Bibl. nat., MS fr. 22912–13, Augustine, *Cité de Dieu, ca.* 1376; a spade in the Psalter of St. Louis, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 10525, and in the Belleville Breviary, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 10483, fol. 24ᵛ; a scythe in the *Bible Moralisée*, Bodleian MS 270b, fol. 8, and on a baptismal font in Östra Eneby, Östergötland; an axe in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the narthex mosaics of S. Marco in Venice, the mosaics of the Palace Chapel in Palermo, the fresco from Mur in the Boston Museum, etc. In a modern Negro song, *Darky Sunday School*, it is the leg of a table:

"The good book says Cain killed his brother Abel,
He hit him on the head with the leg of a table."

For the literary traditions about the instrument of Cain in Jewish and Early Christian writings, see the work of Aptowitzer, cited above in note 15 (pp. 50 ff.).

his bare hands.[45] The choice of a stone and even of a club shows some degree of ethnological insight, since the Bible story refers to a primitive period of mankind, before the invention of the metal arts by Tubal-Cain. In the same manner, the Byzantines represent Adam and Eve in untailored skins when they are cast out of Paradise,[46] while western artists often show them in tunics,[47] like contemporary Europeans. Is the choice of the bone a corresponding historical judgment of the primitive character of the first murder? Is there a connection with the Bone Age culture of Denmark and northern Germany?[48] Animal bones were still used as implements in the northern world during the Middle Ages and were important in folklore and popular traditions;[49] in England, especially, bone-carving was intensively practised by the Anglo-Saxons.[50] In a relief of the tenth century (?) from Inchbrayock in Scotland, a fighter in an undeciphered secular subject is represented armed with a jaw-bone.[51]

Is the jaw-bone perhaps an interpretation of an unclearly drawn sickle, an implement appropriate to Cain as a farmer? The sickle is familar as a weapon in ancient mythology, for example as the instrument of Hercules and Perseus.[52] They have a common shape, and in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing the sign for jaw-bone is a pair of sickles.[53] Maspero supposed that the primitive Egyptian sickle with wooden frame and inset toothed flints was preceded by an animal jaw-bone.[54] In the Middle Ages the toothed sickle was still in use, as we know from representations.[55] But the sickle is so rare as the weapon of Cain in medieval literature and art (I have found no English examples)[56] that the hypothesis of a substitution of the jaw-bone for the sickle is extremely weak. It seems unlikely that the sharply pointed sickle form, familiar to everyone in the agricultural society of the Middle Ages, would be misunderstood as the clubbed jaw-bone in an image of the farmer, Cain.

I believe a more adequate explanation of the jaw-bone as Cain's weapon than the survival of prehistoric traditions is to be found in the vernacular linguistic context of the story. In the oldest Anglo-Saxon reference to Cain's use of the jaw-bone, the Anglo-Saxon prose *Solomon and Saturn*, it is called the *cinbán*.[57] Now Cain in the same literature is called the *bana*,[58] i.e. the slayer or bane of his brother. When he uses the sword to kill him, Cain is the *ecg-bana*,[59] or "sword-bane" of Abel. Is it not likely that the words *Cain bana*

45. In the paintings of the palace of Ingelheim, described by Ermoldus Nigellus: "Perculit, haud gladio, sed manibus miseris."

46. In the Octateuchs and in the narthex mosaics of S. Marco, Venice.

47. Cf. the Carolingian Bibles of Bamberg, Moûtier-Grandval (British Museum, Add. MS 10546), the Junius Caedmon, a Josephus manuscript in Brussels (Bibl. Royale, MS 3062, fol. 3ᵛ), a capital in the cloister of Moissac, a drawing from Moissac (Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 2077), etc.

48. The so-called Maglemose Culture; see Shetelig and Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, Oxford, 1937, chap. III.

49. See E. Cartailhac, *L'âge de pierre dans les souvenirs et superstitions populaires*, Paris, 1877, pp. 96 ff.; and J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1924, I, 575, esp. fig. 218, for amuletic use of animal teeth and jaw-bone.

50. Bone objects of late antiquity and of the early Middle Ages in England are reproduced in the *British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*, 1925, the *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, 1923, and *Guide to Mediaeval Antiquities*, 1924. For English bone and ivory carvings see also A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. IV.

51. J. R. Allen, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scot-land*, Edinburgh, 1903, fig. 235b; W. Anderson, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum, Recueil d'études*, 1937, pl. X, 3.

52. On its use as a weapon in ancient representations, see the article "Falx" by S. Reinach, in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, p. 970.

53. See H. Maspero, in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, 1892, I, 270.

54. *Ibid.* Cf. also Ranke, in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, XII, 73, *s.v.* "Sichel": "die Urform ist vielleicht ein Esels- oder Rinderkinnbacken mit künstlich nachgeschärften Zähnen." For reproduction of a primitive Egyptian wooden sickle with flint teeth and the hieroglyphic sign, see J. de Morgan, *La préhistoire orientale*, Paris, 1926, II, fig. 107.

55. Cf. the harvest scene in the Beatus manuscript, Morgan Library MS 644, and in the Gerona cathedral Beatus.

56. It is cited, however, by Irenaeus in commenting on the story of Cain; see Aptowitzer, *loc. cit.*

57. " . . . ða hine Chain his bróðer ofslóh mid ánes esoles cinbáne" (J. M. Kemble, *The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis*, London, 1843, p. 186).

58. *Beowulf*, lines 1261, 1262.

59. *Ibid., loc. cit.*

suggested *cinbán?* This is a linguistic process that has been observed in different cultures in the formation of legends, and is most evident in the elaboration of the biblical stories. Everyone knows how the attributes and powers of certain saints are derived from their names; St. Claire and St. Augustine are invoked for eye troubles, and St. Ouen for the deaf, St. Genou heals the knee, Vincent carries the pruning-knife of the vine-dressers, St. Expédit facilitates traffic and shipments, etc.[60] The Hebrew legend that Cain killed Abel with a rod is based on the resemblance of the Hebrew *Kain* and the word for rod—*kaneh;*[61] and the same coincidence suggested to Josephus that Cain invented weights and measures.[62] Even the jaw-bone used by Samson owes its origin to a similar linguistic play; for jaw-bone in Hebrew is *lechi*, which is also the name of the place where the author of Judges (15:14) locates the fight with the Philistines.[63] If an ass's jaw-bone is specified, it was perhaps because the ass was a sacred animal of the Philistines,[64] so that in triumphing over his enemies, Samson uses the carcass of their protecting divinity. When they applied Samson's weapon to the story of Cain, the Anglo-Saxons were directed by the same process that underlies the Hebrew invention.

But such an explanation is incomplete without another factor, the expressive value of the jaw-bone in the larger context of the story of Cain and in Anglo-Saxon fantasy. The choice of a jaw-bone is highly imaginative and rare, unlike the familiar every-day weapons in the other versions, and implies a peculiar style of fantasy. As the instrument of animal voracity, the jaw is a constant theme in medieval art in the expression of overwhelming force; the beast-head with open jaws is often isolated on archivolts, corbels, capitals, initials, and borders in early medieval art, especially in England. On the portal of the church of Kilpeck, the arch is decorated with a succession of beasts and beast-heads, some of them devouring the parts of their victims.[65] The animal jaw is the most powerful sign of violence and destructiveness. The representation of Hell as the open jaws of a monster (Fig. 5) is a typical English motive;[66] most of the examples before the twelfth century are English works.[67] English artists who represented Cain with the jaw-bone sensed the bestiality implied in the use of this weapon; in a painting of the late thirteenth century in the Psalter in St. John's College, Cambridge, the artist has placed above the figure of Cain a monkey who shoots at a bird with bow and arrow (Fig. 6). By this *drôlerie*, characteristic of the time in its marginal inversion and parody of the central theme,[68] he reminds us of the cross-

60. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Brussels, 1927, pp. 45 ff., and K. Nyrop (and H. Gaidoz), "L'étymologie populaire et le folk-lore," *Mélusine*, iv, 1889, 505-24, v, 1890, 12-15, 148-52.

61. L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, v, 139, n. 20. For a similar origin of the reed as Cain's weapon in rabbinical tradition, see R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, ii, 1913, 138 n.

62. L. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, v, 144, 145, n. 41.

63. *Ibid.*, vi, 207, n. 119.

64. See D. B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen, i, 1905, 141, and W. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

65. A. Gardner, *A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture*, Cambridge, 1935, fig. 61.

66. The oldest example I know is the ivory carving of *ca.* 800 in the Victoria and Albert Museum; see M. H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1927, Part i, pl. xlv, no. 253-1867. Goldschmidt (*Elfenbeinskulpturen*, i, 178) tentatively as-

signs it to Tours, but the associated ornament is clearly of insular type. The Anglo-Saxon taste for the Hell Mouth was perhaps influenced by the northern pagan myth of the Crack of Doom and the battle with the wolf, who devoured Odin. The wolf's great jaws are broken by Odin's son, Vidar, who is later identified with Christ. The latter scene is illustrated on the Gosforth Cross, about 900, according to H. Colley March, *Rending the Wolf's Jaws*, Manchester, 1894.

67. Cf. the Junius manuscript (Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 199); British Museum, Cotton ms Titus d. xxvii, fol. 75ᵛ (E. Millar, *op. cit.*, pl. 24b); Stowe ms 944, *Liber Vitae* of Newminster, Winchester (*ibid.*, pl. 25b); Cotton ms Tiberius c. vi, fol. 14, Winchester Psalter, first half of the eleventh century (Fig. 5); Victoria and Albert Museum, ivory carving of the tenth or eleventh century, no. 1-1872, German(?), (Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. lii, and p. 74).

68. On parody and inversion as forms of *drôlerie* and in marginal decoration, see my remarks in *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 1939, p. 377, and in ART BULLETIN, xxi, 1939, 339 ff.

ing of the human and the animal in the main incident. In a Hebrew legend of the Middle Ages, which has its parallel in England, Cain is described as biting Abel to death.[69] Shakespeare's ambiguity in speaking of Cain's jaw-bone carries something of the same force. Cain is, indeed, for Jewish and Christian legend a half-animal creature, a hairy wild-man of the woods;[70] in the story of his own death, often told and represented in England, he is mistaken for a beast in the woods and shot by his own kin, Lamech.[71] In the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, the terrible monster Grendel, who crunches the bones of his human victims, is described as a descendant of Cain.[72] Cain is mentioned twice in the epic, and his story is the only clear biblical allusion in the poem.[73] His violence has something demonic in it, and the jaw-bone as his instrument recalls to us that in English, as in older Christian and Jewish tradition, Cain is the son of the devil.[74] In an early medieval allegorizing lexicon, once attributed to Rabanus Maurus, the jaw-bone is the devil's malice,[75] bone in general being a symbol of diabolical cunning.[76]

There is a work of the Renaissance that shows the same connection of envy with half-human, half-animal violence and weapons of bone, like the story of Cain in England—the engraving of the battling marine monsters by Mantegna.[77] To illustrate how Envy can create discord even among the most peaceful creatures, he represented the ichthyophagi, sea-centaurs reputed for their freedom from all passion, fighting with each other, armed with the bones of wild beasts.[78]

The invention of the jaw-bone as Cain's weapon in England was not only inspired by the vernacular play of words, peculiar to England. The affective connotations of both Cain and the jaw-bone for demonic and animal violence in English fantasy probably helped to fuse these two elements into a single image. This expressive aspect underlies also the chain of contrasted images in Shakespeare's willfully ambiguous lines. Hamlet hears the grave-digger sing and recalls that the skull had a tongue in it and could sing once; the jaw belongs to man and ass; it is an instrument of both murder and speech, of the animal and the rational, the alternatives that obsess Hamlet himself, who must kill his own kin. But the skull which he imagines might be Cain's or a politician's, a courtier's or a lawyer's, is doubly dead, for it is "chapless," that is, without a jaw. It can neither bite nor talk, and is therefore the complete image of his own extinction.

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69. In the *Zohar* and in earlier Jewish literature (Targum to Gen. 4: 7, Sanhedrin), cited by Aptowitzer, *op. cit.*, n. 219, 219b, and Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, v, 139, n. 20. In the Apocalypse of Moses, cap. 2, Eve dreams of seeing the blood of Abel flowing in Cain's mouth. This is also found in the *Vita Adam et Evae*, cap. XXII, 4, which was well known to Anglo-Saxon writers (Charles, *op. cit.*, II, 138 and Emerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 851 ff.).

70. Emerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 866 ff. In the Chester Creation play, Cain lives among the beasts; in the Cornish Creation play he is described as covered with hair; and in the Middle English poem, *Ywaine and Gawin*, a monster of the wood, human but with partial likeness to animals, his teeth like bare tusks, is of Cain's race (*ibid.*, p. 885). This figure, according to Kittredge, is of English origin, since it is missing in the French original.

71. On the Lamech story in England, see Emerson, *op.* cit., pp. 876 ff.

72. Lines 104 ff., 1258-1266.

73. On Cain and his descendants in *Beowulf*, see Emerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 878 ff.

74. In the Jewish and Early Christian writings, explicitly; in the English, metaphorically—Emerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 833-35.

75. *Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXII, 977,—*s.v.* "maxilla."

76. *Ibid.*, col. 1013, *s.v.* "os."

77. B. 17. See T. Borenius, *Four Early Italian Engravers*, London, 1923, Mantegna, no. 5.

78. For this interpretation, based on a passage in Diodorus Siculus, see R. Förster, "Die 'Meergötter' des Mantegna," *Jahrbuch d. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXIII, 1902, 205-14.

"SHOOTING AT FATHER'S CORPSE"

BY WOLFGANG STECHOW

IN works of art of various kinds, book illuminations and reliefs of the fourteenth century, *cassoni* and engravings of the fifteenth, drawings and paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth, made in France, Germany, or Italy, the art historian occasionally encounters representations of a strange story about which he will find it hard to gather any reliable information. As it happened, this writer was first puzzled by the subject of the drawing illustrated towards the end of this paper (Fig. 15), and had to work his way backwards to the more important renderings. He did not get very much help from previous publications in the field of art history; in fact, wrong interpretations of the story were almost as numerous as correct ones. All the more gratefully he acknowledges the generous help which he was given by several colleagues and institutions.[1]

I—THE LAW OF THE TALMUD

In the tract *Baba Batra* (Last Gate) of the juridical section of the Babylonian Talmud, we find the following story:[2]

There was a man who heard his wife saying to her daughter: Why are you not careful in your unlawful acts? I have ten sons, and only one is from your father. When he was dying he said: I bequeath all my properties to one son (as he did not know which one was his). And as they did not know to which of the sons, the case came to Rabbi Bnaha, who advised them to go and knock on the father's grave until he should come and explain whom he meant. Nine of the sons did so, but the one who was his did not. Then Rabbi Bnaha decided that all the estates should be given to this one.

The Talmud consists of the basic collections of religious, political, and civil laws (*Mishna*) and of their exegesis (*Gemara*). Our story is part of the Babylonian *Gemara* which according to tradition was assembled and edited by Rabbi Ashi (352–427 A.D.). It is attached to a *Mishna* dealing with "difference in usage of articles" and is followed immediately by another story which begins with the statement that "his brothers then denounced him to the government, saying: There is a man among the Jews who collects money without witnesses and without any evidence," etc. Thus the tale, whatever its origin and original meaning, is made to serve primarily as an illustration of a legal point, namely a question of the correct distribution of property.

II—"QUOD SOLUM BONI INTRABUNT REGNUM CELORUM"[3]

When the legend reappeared in Christian literature of the Middle Ages it had changed, although not so much as to obscure its connection with the Jewish or perhaps some other

oriental source. The number of the sons has been reduced to four, three, or even two; they do not knock on their father's grave but aim at his corpse with lances or arrows. The father is a *miles strenuus*,[4] a *rex nobilissimus*,[5] an emperor of Rome named Polemius,[6] or the "prince de Saissone."[7] In the place of Rabbi Bnaha there appears a simple *judex*,[8] a *comes*, or Solomon himself, the wisest of all kings. But the substance of the story remains the same. Equally important, however, seems to be the fact that the juridical character of the oriental legend was gradually abandoned and replaced by an emphasis on various degrees and forms of Christian moralization. This tendency reached its climax in the account of our story found in the immensely popular *Gesta Romanorum*, a collection of moralized fables and anecdotes dating from the early fourteenth century which exists in two basic versions, one English and one "continental."[9]

A. The Wisdom of Solomon.—We cannot tell exactly when the story assumed its new form, but no written records of it seem to exist prior to about 1200. The two earliest versions[10] mention lances as the weapons which the sons aimed at the corpse of their father, whereas these were changed to bows and arrows in all of the later reports. In the collection of *Fabliaux* of the thirteenth century preserved in MS fr. 837 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,[11] the story was called *Le Jugement Salemon*. It seemed quite natural to attribute this masterpiece of sound and understanding judgment to the greatest and most popular of all judges. Although this identification remained an exception in the *literary* history of the legend, it was of great consequence for its representation in *art*, particularly in book illumination, as will presently be seen. The father was a "prince of Saissone"; there were only two sons, neither of them illegitimate, but one *amer*, one *doux*. After their father's death, the elder son wished to see the heritage distributed on the spot, to which the younger reverently objected. At this moment King Solomon entered the scene and was asked to mediate the dispute. He had the corpse taken from the bier (not exhumed as in other versions) and tied to a stake; after that, he ordered both sons to mount their horses and aim at the body with their lances. The one who hit it the hardest would inherit the entire estate. After the proof of brutal violence on the part of the elder son, and the repeated refusal of the younger, the latter was proclaimed heir, and the former expelled from the country. Since all the other versions of the story speak of either three or four sons, the restriction of the *fabliau* to only two seems to be connected with the equally exceptional identification of the judge with Solomon: we must see in it an assimilation to the more famous judgment pronounced by Solomon, when two mothers claimed legitimate rights to an even greater possession, namely a living baby (1 Kings 3: 16–28).

It is true that most representations of this Solomon version in the fourteenth and fif-

4. Alexander Neckam; see note 10.

5. "Continental" version of the *Gesta Romanorum*; see note 9.

6. English version of the *Gesta Romanorum*; see Herrtage, *op. cit.*

7. *Fabliau*; see note 11.

8. Peraldus; see note 53, and others.

9. Hermann Österley, *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin, 1872, cap. XLV, p. 342 (text reprinted from the *editio princeps*, Utrecht, n.d. *ca.* 1472), with an indispensable list of other occurrences of our story on p. 719. A manuscript in Innsbruck, important for its indisputable date, was published by Wilhelm Dick, *Die Gesta Romanorum nach der Innsbrucker Handschrift vom Jahre 1342* (*Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, VII), Erlangen-Leipzig, 1890 (our story: p. 59, cap. 103, *reductio* not reprinted). Charles Swan's English translation of the "continental" *Gesta*, first published in 1824, was made from the Hagenau edition of 1508. For the English version of the *Gesta* see note 2.

10. Alexander Neckam (1157–1217), *De naturis rerum*, lib. II, cap. CLXXVI (ed. Th. Wright in *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, no. 34, London, 1863, p. 313, also reprinted by Herrtage, *op. cit.*, p. 478); and the *fabliau*, see the following note.

11. Henri Omont, *Fabliaux, dits et contes en vers français du XIII siècle, Facsimile du Ms. franç. 837 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1932, p. 446 ff. (I am indebted to Mr. Karl G. Bottke of the University of Wisconsin for a correct transcription of this text.) The account of this *fabliau* by Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux et contes*, Paris, 1829, II, 429 ff., is rather incorrect. Solomon was replaced by "Fryer Bacon" in the sixteenth-century version of *The famous historie of Fryer Bacon* (*Early English Prose Romances*, ed. W. J. Thoms, new edition, London, n.d., I, 307).

teenth centuries increased the number of sons to three. This was doubtless due to an influence of other popular forms of the story,[12] and the same holds good of the change of weapons from lances to bows and arrows. Evidence of such fusion may also be found in the fact that in the English version of the *Gesta Romanorum*[13] the sons seek judgment at the hands of the "King of Jerusalem" (without specifically mentioning the name of Solomon) in spite of the father being one "Polemius Emperor of Rome"! The important point for us is that the legend as such had been so firmly connected with Solomon that it could be represented in art as a typical Solomon story.

Though the legend may have appeared in art as a Solomon story quite frequently during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, I do not know of many such representations. Published examples are sometimes misnamed, unpublished ones difficult to trace. An outstanding work is the carved relief which may be found, together with the more famous companion-judgment, on the well-known choir-stalls of the Cathedral of Cologne, which date from the first half of the fourteenth century (Fig. 1).[14] This has almost invariably[15] been called "The Justice of Trajan"[16] but evidently on insufficient grounds. The presiding king on the left is identical with the Solomon of the companion relief; the figure kneeling before him is a man, not the widow of the Trajan legend; and the figure tied with ropes to the tree at the right cannot possibly represent the body of the widow's son who was accidentally killed by the Emperor's son, but clearly depicts the corpse of the father of the three brothers. It is true that the weapons of the two sons who are standing in the background seem to have been omitted by the artist, but otherwise the story is told in strict accordance with the literary tradition and with contemporary representations in art.[17] The various expressions of benign dignity in Solomon, of ardent reverence in the good son, of disappointment in one of the brothers, are integrated in a masterly composition. Compared with it, the simple ivory relief on a comb in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich (Fig. 4)[18] looks crude and primitive, though not without a certain naïve charm. Here it has again been paired with the *Judgment of the Mothers* which appears on the reverse of the comb. The father is a curious mixture of corpse and skeleton; there are only two brothers, as in the *fabliau* version, the bad one still holding his bow in his hands after having hit his father's chest; Solomon raises a benign hand in the direction of the good son; two additional figures frame the composition on either side.

Turning now to book illumination, an interesting prelude first draws our attention. This is found in a Psalter of the Liège group which belongs to The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS 183) and can be dated in the second half of the thirteenth century (Fig. 5). Folio 70 of this work contains the end of Psalm 51 (now 52) and the beginning of Psalm 52

12. There were already three sons in the other accounts of the story dating from the thirteenth century: Neckam, Peraldus, and Étienne de Bourbon (see note 51). The "continental" *Gesta Romanorum* and (following them?) Hugo von Trimberg (1235–1315) in his *Renner* (see below, p. 223), have four sons.

13. Herrtage, *op. cit.*, p. 167 ff.

14. B. von Tieschowitz, *Das Chorgestühl des Kölner Doms*, Marburg, 1930, plate XVIII.

15. Only Carl Aldenhoven, *Geschichte der Kölner Malerschule*, Lübeck, 1902, p. 425, note 490, seems to have been aware of the correct interpretation: "Diese Geschichte, die in den Miniaturen des 14. Jahrhunderts öfter behandelt ist, erscheint als Relief an den Chorgestühlen im Dom." I have not been able to procure a reproduction of the canvas in the Cologne Kunstgewerbemuseum which deals with our

story as part of a series of four "Justice" pictures: Aldenhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 289, and H. Brockmann, *Die Spätzeit der Kölner Malerschule*, Bonn-Leipzig, 1924, pp. 202 and 270 (dated *ca.* 1515–20 and attributed to the school of the Master of the Ursula Legend; one canvas of the series reproduced on pl. 66).

16. Heribert Reiners, *Die rheinischen Chorgestühle der Frühgotik*, Strassburg, 1909, p. 65; von Tieschowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Paul Clemen, *Der Dom zu Köln*, Düsseldorf, 1937, p. 155. An adequate study of the Trajan legend is an urgent *desideratum*.

17. Compare the book illuminations discussed below.

18. *Kataloge des bayerischen Nationalmuseums in München*, XIII: R. Berliner, *Die Bildwerke*, IV, 1926, no. 72, pl. 31: "Italian, second half of the fourteenth century."

(now 53). The initial *D* of the latter (*Dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est Deus*) contains, as is customary with this entire group of Psalters,[19] the Temptation of Christ. However, the decoration of the lower margin includes, in three medallion-like tendrils, what seems to be the earliest rendering of our story. The corpse appears on the right; an arrow has been shot into it by the bad son who stands in the middle medallion together with the good one; the latter turns with an eloquent gesture towards the left medallion where the king (doubtless Solomon) is seated as the judge, accompanied by a dignitary. Thus, we have two sons as in the *fabliau*, which dates approximately from the same period, but the lances have already been replaced by arrows. How did the story get into the Psalter, and into Psalm 52 in particular? This question can scarcely be answered unequivocally, but it seems possible that the appearance of the legend at this place was due to a misunderstanding on the part of the illuminator: In another illustration for the same psalm,[20] we find a representation of the "Fool" who denies the existence of God, shooting an arrow at "Ecclesia" from whom it rebounds, piercing the marksman himself. Evidently our legend was already well known—better known, in fact, than the allegory just mentioned.

Most of the other miniatures representing the legend in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appear at the same place in the Bible, the beginning of the Proverbs of Solomon; and the great majority of the illustrations are found in Guiart Desmoulins' *Bible historiale*, that extremely popular, enlarged version of Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, to which Samuel Berger has dedicated an important chapter in his standard work on the French Bible in the Middle Ages.[21] The frequent appearance of the story in these illustrations is in itself an interesting fact, since Desmoulins' text, written *ca.* 1291–94, is a mere translation of the Bible as far as the Proverbs are concerned. Evidently the popularity of the legend was so great that many illuminators (though by no means all of them) felt justified in representing it, even though the text does not mention it. Its inclusion was of course easily defended by pointing to Proverbs 19: 26: "He who maltreats his father and chases away his mother, Is a son who acts shamefully and disgracefully." The *fabliau* itself puts it this way: "N'apelent pas droit oir (heir) / Celui qui fiert son pere / Ains l'apelent bastart / Si fet honte a sa mere." A similar thought is expressed in Proverbs 20: 20: "He who curses his father and mother, His lamp shall go out in the blackest of darkness"; even on the very first page (1:8) one reads: "Hear, my son, thy father's instruction, and forsake not the admonition of thy mother."[22] In the Desmoulins manuscripts consisting of two volumes, the Proverbs are usually found at the beginning of the second, in which case the story appears on the very first page of that volume, thus occupying a prominent place within the entire work.

One such illumination is found in a French Bible which precedes Desmoulins' work and which is the only Bible of the thirteenth century with its entire text in French.[23] Now preserved in The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS 494), it contains on fol. 330ʳ (the beginning of the Proverbs) a large initial *L* with three significant scenes from the life of Solomon: Solomon Teaching,[24] the Judgment of the Mothers, and below, our story, again

19. Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen thesis, 1936, p. 71 (without reference to the appearance of our story).

20. *Ibid.*, p. 25 (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 212).

21. *La bible française au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1884, pp. 157 ff. On Comestor see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1941, p. 156 ff. Desmoulins seems to have had, and probably kindled as well, a special predilection for the Proverbs, which Comestor had omitted

altogether.

22. See the systematic list of quotations in Charles Foster Kent and Millar Burrows, *Proverbs and Didactic Poems*, New York, 1927, pp. 67–68.

23. The text of this important manuscript is a mixture of the Bible and of glosses, prior to Desmoulins. Not mentioned by S. Berger, *op. cit.*

24. This scene is usually called Solomon Teaching Rehoboam, evidently on the ground of too literal an interpreta-

FIG. 1. Cologne, Cathedral: Detail of Choir-stalls, First Half of XIV Century

FIG. 2. New York, Public Library: MS Spencer 4, Bible Historiale, French, *ca.* 1450/60

FIG. 3. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: MS 494, Bible, French, Second Half of XIII Century, fol. 330

FIG. 4. Munich, Bavarian National Museum: Ivory Comb, XIV Century
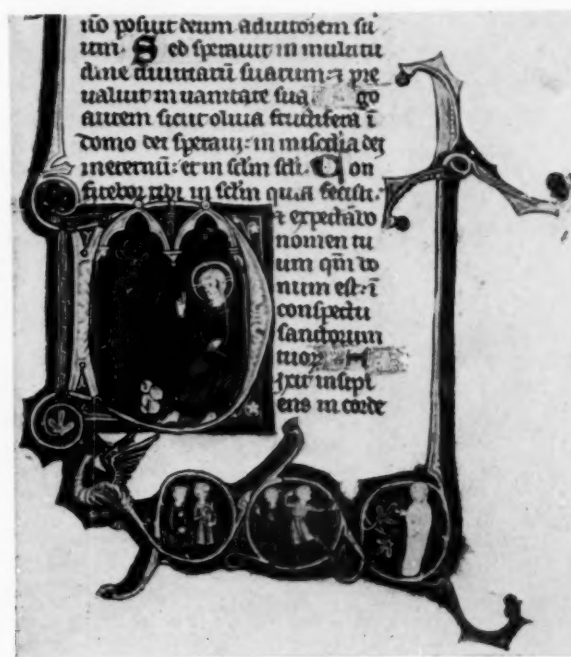
FIG. 5. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: MS 183, Psalter, Franco-Flemish, XIII Century, fol. 70

"SHOOTING AT FATHER'S CORPSE" AS A JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON

FIG. 6. The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum: MS 10 B 23, Bible Historiale, French, 1371, fol. 317

FIG. 7. Paris, Arsenal Library: MS fr. 5057, Bible Historiale, French, *ca.* 1400

FIG. 8. London, British Museum: Royal MS 17 E VII, Bible Historiale, French, 1357, vol. II, fol. 1
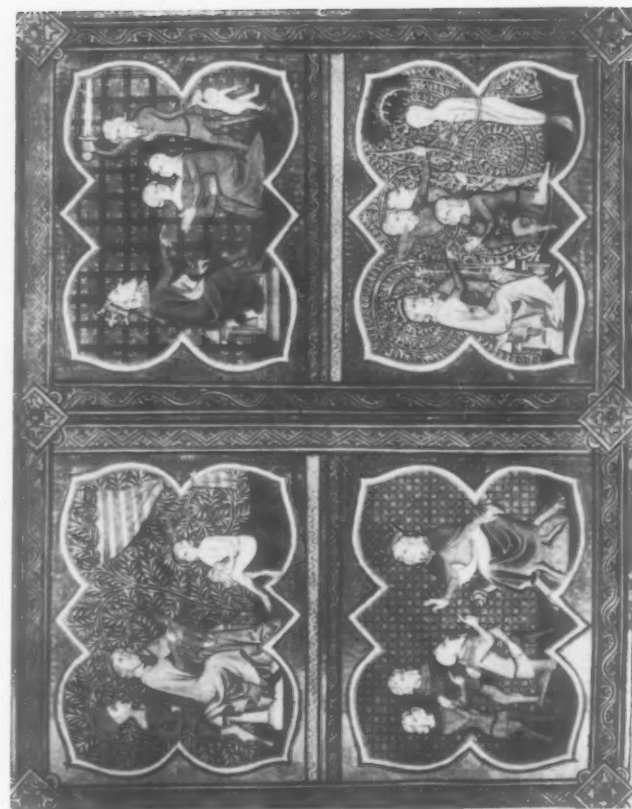
FIG. 9. London, British Museum: Royal MS 19 D II, Bible Historiale, French, before 1356, fol. 273

"SHOOTING AT FATHER'S CORPSE" AS A JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON

with only one bad son, corresponding to the *fabliau* version (Fig. 3). The rendering is not very successful, the good son being unduly squeezed in between his very aggressive brother and King Solomon.

In the Desmoulins manuscripts, the legend forms part of a foursome of scenes, filling one or sometimes even two of the compartments. Present world conditions account for the fact that out of a rather large number of such illuminations, I am able to trace and illustrate only a few; but these seem to represent the most important versions. One is found on fol. 1 of the second volume of the *Bible historiale*, Royal MS 17 E VII of the British Museum, which is dated 1357 (Fig. 8).[25] The illustration at the upper left shows Solomon teaching; the "classical" judgment is represented on the lower left; both of the right compartments have been reserved for our story. Below, the three sons are seen approaching Solomon and asking his advice concerning their quarrel; it is one of the two elder (bearded) sons who stands before the judge acting as the eager spokesman, while the younger brother tries to restrain him. Above, the good son is kneeling before the king in firm refusal to violate his father's body, and at the same time receiving his reward from the wise judge, while his two brothers are shown in varying attitudes, having transfixed their father's corpse with their arrows. The miniatures show vigorous action and full-blooded drama. Although the "stage" has not yet lost its flatness, the figures move with complete physical agility and intense psychological vivacity within their agitated frames. The attribution to the leading artist of a very busy workshop, the illuminator called by Henry Martin the "Maître aux Boqueteaux," seems quite justified.[26] Nevertheless it seems certain that the illuminator of this manuscript derived many features of his compositions from older sources. Another *Bible historiale* of the British Museum, Royal MS 19 D 11,[27] which can be dated before 1356,[28] contains on fol. 273 two very similar representations of our story (Fig. 9) which are, however, artistically much too weak to pass for the models of the illuminator of Royal 17 E VII. It is logical to assume that both artists harked back to an older set of illustrations, one developing them in a progressive sense (17 E VII), the other, as a typical *retardataire* would do, reducing them to a more old-fashioned appearance (19 D 11). An approach superficially similar to Royal 17 E VII, yet significantly different from it, can be noticed in the illuminations on fol. 317 of the *Bible historiale* of Charles V (1371), now in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum at The Hague (MS 10 B 23), which contains Jean Bondol's famous dedicatory miniature.[29] In it (Fig. 6), the teaching scene is practically identical with the miniature of 1357 in London; the Judgment of the Mothers shows a somewhat different executioner; our two scenes were altered considerably, but definitely to their disadvantage. The summoning before Solomon shows the brothers kneeling with "proleptic" bows and with little differentiation in their attitudes; in the shooting scene, the magnificent figure of the son

tion of Proverbs 1:8, "Hear, my son, thy father's instruction."

25. *Catalogue of Royal and Kings Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1921, II, 260 and pl. 102.

26. *La miniature française du XIII et XIV siècle*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1923, p. 51.

27. S. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 392 (our scene baffled Berger); *Catalogue of Royal and Kings Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1921, II, 342; Eric G. Millar, *Souvenir de l'exposition de manuscrits français à peinture organisée à la Grenville Library en janvier-mars 1932*, Paris, 1933, no. 35 (p. 25) and pl. xxxv; Miriam Schild Bunim, *Space in Medieval Painting*, New York, 1940, repr. p. 242. The same Bible contains a second representation of our story in the lower border of its title-page: *Catalogue*, p. 341 and pl. 111.

28. It was captured by the English at the time of the Battle of Poitiers which occurred in 1356; see Eric G. Millar, *op. cit.* That both illuminators copied from a common original was already suggested by the *Catalogue of Royal and Kings Manuscripts*, op. cit., p. 260.

29. A. W. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale des Pays-Bas et du Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum à La Haye*, Paris, 1924, pp. 104–110 and pl. xliv, with attribution to the shop of the "Maître aux Boqueteaux." Bella Martens, *Meister Francke*, Hamburg, 1929, p. 240, is inclined to give to Jean Bondol himself a large number of the miniatures attributed to the "Maître aux Boqueteaux" by Henry Martin, including the *Bible historiale* Arsenal 5212 and "many" miniatures of Meermanno-Westreenianum 10 B 23 itself.

who has just sent his arrow into his father's body has been eliminated (or rather relegated to the *drôleries* of the lower border), and all three brothers are shown turning to the royal judge, in a rather tiresome duplication of the configuration in the left scene. By comparing composition and details of these two scenes in London 17 E VII and The Hague, the inferiority of the latter becomes quite evident. The increasing realism in the manuscript of 1371 is obvious: the background pattern is about to change into "space" through intimations of piercing and dark-light contrasts, the curtains swell like sails, people are shown in more convincing overlapping, some gestures appear more pointed than before; yet, all these progressive features were in the service of a minor artist who might have been a lesser member of the workshop of the "Maître aux Boqueteaux," or at any rate, of the illuminator of the London manuscript of 1357.

Another foursome of Proverbs illustrations occurs in the Duke of Berry's *Bible historiale* in the Arsenal Library in Paris, MS fr. 5057 (Fig. 7).[30] Here we have Solomon Teaching at the lower left, and Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba at the lower right; the two upper scenes represent the two judgment stories, the one concerning the baby to the left, ours to the right. It is true that the latter has been much abbreviated. There is only one son, and he is aiming at the body of his father in what looks like a defiant attitude; no good son, no judge, no accessories of any kind. Still, there can be no doubt as to the subject represented, because of the corpse tied to the tree, which is a unique feature of our story; and the interpretation of the scene as the Death of Adonijah, which was suggested by Henry Martin, cannot be accepted.[31] The strange rendering, which is more symbolical than narrative, can again be defended in the light of the quotations from the Proverbs made above: It is this son who "curses his father" and who is held up to the spectator as a warning, rather than as an indication of the behavior and reward of the righteous.[32]

Representations of the legend in French and Flemish book illumination of the advanced fifteenth century seem to be rare, a fact which is no doubt connected with the decreasing reputation of Desmoulins' *Bible historiale*. However, I should like to call attention to at least one such miniature, especially since it is preserved in this country. In the *Bible historiale* of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library (MS 4),[33] another foursome of

30. S. Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 366; H. Martin, *op. cit.*, pl. 75, fig. c; H. Martin and P. Lauer, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à Paris*, Paris, 1929 pl. XXXVIII. According to Bella Martens, *op. cit.*, p. 241, by the "Master of 1402." In another *Bible historiale* (Paris, Bibl. nat. 3/4, Berger, p. 326), a miniature illustrating the *Proverbs* shows "un homme tirant sur une balle placée sur la tête d'un enfant." This sounds like an interesting mixture of our story with the "Tell" motive which was widely known long before it was applied to Wilhelm Tell (cf. Saxo Grammaticus' Toko myth, *ca.* 1200; Anton Gisler, *Die Tellfrage*, Bern, 1895, p. 201 ff.). A combination of our legend with the one about the bequest of a tree to the three sons ("continental" version of the *Gesta Romanorum*, Innsbruck manuscript [see note 9], cap. 146) is found in MS Harley 7322 of the British Museum, no. 113 (J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS in the British Museum*, 1910, III, 176). In the English version of the *Gesta Romanorum* the disputed heritage consists of a ring (cf. "continental" *Gesta*, cap. 89).

31. *Op. cit.*, pl. 75, and *Cat. Exhib. Paris 1904*, no. 218; Martin and Lauer, *op. cit.*, p. 32. There is no report whatever on the kind of death meted out to Adonijah by Solomon (I Kings 2: 13–25), and certainly no reason to represent a fratricide in connection with the Proverbs.

32. For renderings of the story in manuscripts of the

Bible historiale that were not accessible to me, compare S. Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 321 ff., although his list does not as a rule show which of the Proverbs illustrations contain this particular scene. Of the manuscripts of the *Bible historiale* in this country (see Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1935, pp. 845, 1336, 1426, 1439) the following omit our scene: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 501 (ex Duke of Berry and Ashburnham collections, S. Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 416–17); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MSS 394–95 and 322–23. For MS 4 of the New York Public Library see below. It does occur in others, e.g., Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Bible historiale* of 1368, cod. Phillipps 1906, fol. 255ʳ; see Joachim Kirchner, *Beschreibende Verzeichnisse*, I, Leipzig, 1926, p. 82 (again two scenes; the reproduction of another miniature of the same manuscript in fig. 92 shows that the artist was closely related to the one who illustrated the manuscript at The Hague; see note 9).

33. According to *The Esthonian Review*, I, 1919, 102–105, the motto in the right border: ET PUIS HOLA belonged to Jean le Meingre, nephew of the Marshal Boucicaut (who died in 1421), and the coat-of-arms is that of Aymar de Poitiers (grandfather of Diane de Poitiers), who was nephew and legatee of Jean le Meingre.

Proverbs illustrations is found at the beginning of the second volume (Fig. 2). Judging from their style as well as from the dates of the owner, the manuscript was painted in France *ca.* 1450–60. The influence of Jean Foucquet is already unmistakable, and there are distinct similarities to the *Livre de la Bouquechardière*, MS 10 A 17 of the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague.[34] The miniatures illustrate Solomon Teaching,[35] the Judgment of the Mothers, the Visit of the Queen of Sheba, and our story, which is clearly based on the tradition of the London MS Royal 17 E VII, and is most interesting as a complete transformation of its model into the emphatically spatial setting of the advanced fifteenth century.

At the threshold of the sixteenth century, an engraving of the German Master MZ (Fig. 17)[36] contains the figure of Solomon on horseback; the true son is kneeling before him and is already being tendered the crown, while one of the illegitimate sons is still proudly pointing to his accomplishment.[37] A pen-drawing in Bremen (Fig. 14), formerly called Dürer, now convincingly attributed to Hans Schäuffelein (*ca.* 1505),[38] contains only a brief allusion to the shooting proper, in the background; the entire foreground is reserved for the kneeling son, the royal judge on horseback, and a large group of onlookers.

There is only a small step from such late medieval representations in the North to some Italian ones of the early Renaissance. The theme appears on a *cassone* in the collection of Count Lanckoronski in Vienna, which according to Schubring was painted in Bologna around 1460.[39] There are three panels upon it, and again the Judgment of the Mothers was coupled with our Judgment, the third panel referring to a very rare subject, namely to the story of the Vestal Tuccia carrying water in a sieve from the Tiber to the temple in order to prove her inviolate virginity.[40] The father has been tied to the post on the right; the first of the three sons, who has already had his shot at the body, stands between him and Solomon, who is enthroned in the center; on the left, the second son has just sent his arrow into the corpse, while the third is kneeling before Solomon in a beseeching pose of refusal. Artistically, the painting is poor. Its only new feature is the dominant central position of Solomon. Much more interesting is a Florentine engraving in the "Fine Manner"

34. Byvanck, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 ff., and pl. LVIII–LXI.

35. This scene was made more interesting by adding an illustration of the saying "Beating the Dog before the Lion" which was represented in Christian art as early as in the thirteenth century, e.g., by Villard de Honnecourt, and later in the Queen Mary Psalter; see Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt*, Vienna, 1935, pp. 143 ff., pl. 47, and fig. 47. "This mode of training lions resembles the educational method employed in the olden time for the sons of great lords, with whom a school-fellow, termed a whipping-boy, was kept, and received all the corrections deserved by their own misconduct" (*Facsimile of the Sketch-Book of Wilars de Honecort . . .* ed. by Robert Willis, London, 1859, p. 171).

36. M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, VIII, 374, no. 21, and *idem, Print Collector's Quarterly*, XVI, 1929, 220 and 214 (repr.).

37. The group of the judge and the true son was doubtless patterned on a composition rendering St. Martin and the Beggar, cf. Dürer's drawing in Cassel and the corresponding woodcut in the Basel Prayerbook (W. Stechow, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIII, 1932, 134 ff.; F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen A. Dürer's*, I, Berlin, 1936, no. 51 and pl. VIII, woodcut). A very similar horseman also appears in Dürer's *Calvary* woodcut, B. 59. From Bartsch's description it would seem that an engraving by Virgil Solis which is not accessible to me is nothing but a copy after

Master MZ (*Le peintre graveur*, IX, 255, no. 84, without explanation of the subject matter; the correct interpretation first given by Sotzmann, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1851, 294). Two other representations which I know from references in literature only, are: 1) a drawing for a house façade, Nuremberg, *ca.* 1520, published by H. Egger, *Architektonische Handzeichnungen*, Lieferung I, Vienna, 1910 (mentioned by K. Rathe, *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*, 1927, 204, note 40), and 2) an enamel plaque from the school of the Penicauds in the Louvre, carefully described (as St. Sebastian) by de Laborde, *Notice des émaux . . . du Musée du Louvre*, 1852, p. 159, no. 182 (correct identification given by Didron, *Annales archéologiques*, XVII, 1857, 208, note 1).

38. Ch. Ephrussi, *A. Dürer et ses dessins*, 1887, p. 91 (repr.) and p. 89, note; G. Pauli, *Zeichnungen alter Meister in der Kunsthalle zu Bremen*, Lieferung I, no. 2; E. Buchner, *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 66 and fig. 11. The corpse was indicated at the very top to the left (half destroyed).

39. *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1915, p. 350, no. 552, pl. CXXV. I do not know the relief on a *cassone* of the Berlin *Kunstgewerbemuseum* representing the same story (according to Schubring, p. 405).

40. Valerius Maximus, VIII, I, absol. 5; on this subject see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, 2. series, vol. XIII, 1939, 768 ff.

which A. M. Hind dates about 1460–80 (Fig. 13).[41] Here the stage is set very carefully: a town half Florentine, half oriental, which can hardly be anything else but "Jerusalem," possibly with an indication of Solomon's Temple. Against the wall of a house at the left sits the judge, surrounded by soldiers. The soldier in front with shield and big sword looks as though he had just frightened the true mother of the baby. On the opposite side of the stage, against the wall of another house, leans the dead body of the father. It is precariously held up by a rope which is fastened to a piece of wood projecting from the window of the house where a young couple looks on.[42] Two arrows in the corpse indicate that the two brothers have done their work; they are now standing in the foreground, one still holding his bow in his hand, the other having thrown it away with a gesture intimating apprehension of his foolishness. The good son is rather obscured between two older men who are turning to Solomon; the youth is abandoning his weapon in horrified refusal to comply with the command of the judge. There are many other accessories: two wrestling boys, people entering the temple or sitting on the steps.

Italians must have known the story in a form not specifically related to Solomon through the *Gesta Romanorum* or similar versions, such as the one found in the *Postilla* of Simone da Cremona (died in 1390).[43] The connection with Solomon, so important in France ever since it was first made in a *fabliau* of the thirteenth century, may have been effected much later in Italy. Definite, datable proof that this allusion was made in Italy, too, is found in or shortly after 1471, when a painted illustration was inserted in a copy of the first Malermi Bible, printed in that year by Vindelin de Spira in Venice. Although this book is not a mere translation of the Bible, including as it does a large number of annotations,[44] it, like Desmoulins' *Bible historiale*, contains no reference to our story, and the very fact that an illustration of it accompanies Malermi's text proves its popularity as a Solomon story even in Italy. The Malermi Bible containing this illustration is the richly illuminated copy in The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Fig. 10).[45] It shows a most remarkable representation of our story as a frontispiece to the second volume, which again begins with the Proverbs. The legend is displayed before a lovely landscape; the center of the foreground has been reserved for the touching figure of the legitimate son, a blond youth who, having thrown his bow to the ground, kneels in a pose of modest but firm refusal before a benign and youthful Solomon, while one of the elder brothers hangs his head in guilt and shame.

Bacchiacca's *cassone* in Dresden[46] is perhaps the best known of all representations of the legend (Fig. 12). It combines with delicate handling of color and an abundance of charming details a clear treatment of the whole point of the story, although it contains an early indication of the typically manneristic shifting of the main scene toward the middle ground. As the good son kneels in the center, throwing away his bow with a pathetic gesture, he faces the father who is tied to a tree on the left; but at the same time, he turns

41. Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, London, 1938, Cat. (vol. I) A I, 52 (p. 46), pl. 51.

42. This group suggests influence of the motive of the luckless amour of the Sorcerer Virgil.

43. Printed in Reutlingen, 1484; reprinted from a manuscript of 1426 in the University Library in Breslau by Joseph Klapper, *Exampla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* (*Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, herausgegeben von A. Hilka*, Heft II), Heidelberg, 1911, p. 70. The version in the *Rosarium* of Bernardinus de Bustis (printed in Milan, 1494) was copied from Peraldus' *Summa* (see notes 53 and 71).

44. In his introductory letter, Niccolò Malermi (a Venetian Camaldolite, *ca.* 1422–81) declares that in the Proverbs and the *Canticum*, he has followed Nicolas de Lyra; see S. Berger, "La bible italienne au moyen-âge," *Romania*, XXIII, 1894, 364. The fact that the Proverbs were very popular in Italy, too, is proved by the existence of four different translations: *ibid.*, p. 372.

45. *The Pierpont Morgan Library, A Review . . . 1924–1929*, New York, 1930, pp. 32–34.

46. P. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 405, no. 819, pl. CLXXIII; A. McComb, in the ART BULLETIN, VIII, 1925–26, 142, 153 and fig. 14.
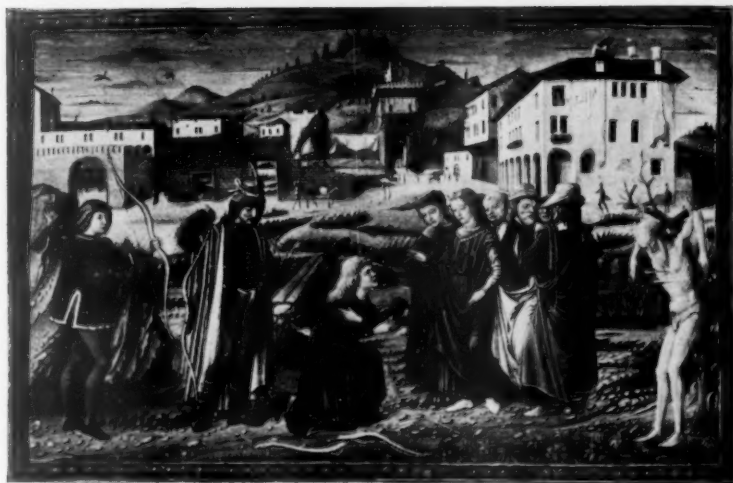
FIG. 10. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: First Printed Italian Bible, 1471, Frontispiece of vol. II

FIG. 11. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: MS 218, French, XVI Century.

FIG. 12. Dresden, Museum: Bacchiacca, Cassone, *ca.* 1523

FIG. 13. Florentine Engraving in the "Fine Manner," *ca.* 1460/80

FIG. 14. Bremen, Kunsthalle: Hans Schäuffelein, Drawing, *ca.* 1505

"SHOOTING AT FATHER'S CORPSE" AS A JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON

FIG. 15. Madison (Wisconsin), Historical Society: North Italian Drawing, *ca.* 1600

FIG. 16. Chicago, Art Institute: Netherlandish Drawing, 1584

"SHOOTING AT FATHER'S CORPSE" AS A STORY FROM ANTIQUITY

FIG. 17. Engraving by the Master MZ (L.21), *ca.* 1500

"SHOOTING AT FATHER'S CORPSE" AS A JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON
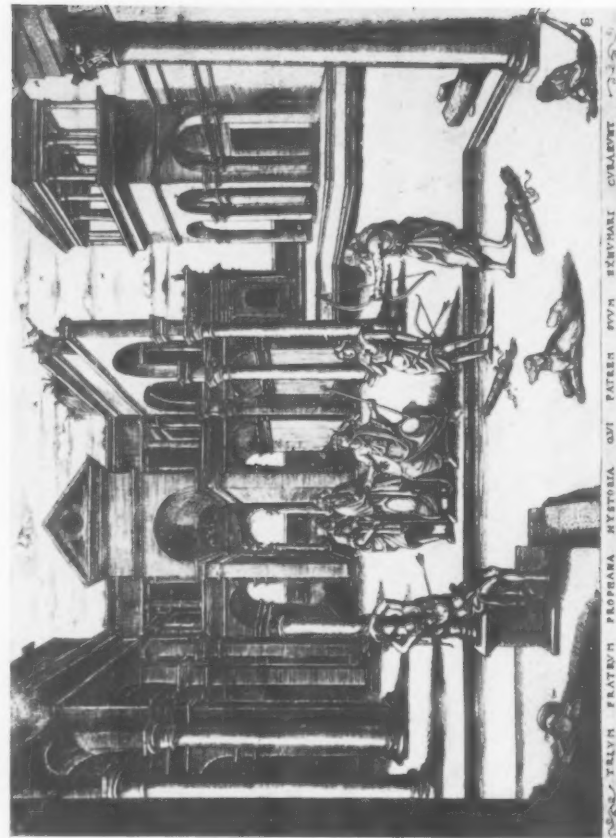
FIG. 18. Engraving by the French Monogrammist Ɛ, Mid XVI Century

toward the judge who, surrounded by a large staff of dignitaries and soldiers, appears be-
hind him in a beautiful Renaissance portico. Despite the narrative looseness of the work,
this porch is made to serve both the general composition, by providing it with a strong
center, and the intelligibility of the story, by emphasizing the isolated figure of the main
actor. Of the two brothers, one is still aiming at the body of his father; the other, in the
right foreground, seems proudly to call the attention of a group of friends to the result of
his marksmanship: the arrow in his father's chest.[47] Hosts of spectators and idlers are
seen everywhere. Very similar costumes occur in Bacchiacca's biblical stories; one of these,
the *Baptism of Christ* in Berlin, actually seems to be a companion-piece of ours, as is
Franciabigio's *Bathsheba* in Dresden (dated 1523). The *cassone* remains within the biblical
realm, and the wise old judge is still Solomon, King of Jerusalem.

An engraving by the French monogrammist **Є**, who is identified by some with Corneille
de Lyon,[48] bears the inscription: TRIUM FRATRUM PROPHANA HYSTORIA QUI PATREM
SUUM EXHUMARI CURARUNT (Fig. 18). But as in the *fabliau*, there are only two brothers,
one having just pierced the corpse with his arrow, the other refusing to shoot. Is the judge
still King Solomon or is he a "profane" king? It is hard to tell. The costumes are not defi-
nitely antique, nor do monkey and dog indicate the spirit that clothed the story with a
genuinely antique aspect at about the same time (see the last section of this article). Even
the classical architecture, so much emphasized in this print, shows a typical traditional
touch in the ruined part above, with a bird and plants suggesting reminiscences of Dürer
from whose *St. Eustace* the dog was literally copied. An even more "profane"-looking
representation of the legend (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 218, French, mid-sixteenth
century) was unquestionably meant to refer to Solomon's wisdom, since it appears as an
illustration preceding the text of the *Canticum Canticorum* (Fig. 11). The refusal of the
legitimate son here finds immediate reward through prompt coronation upon order of an
equestrian Solomon, possibly under the influence of the engraving of the Master MZ.

B. De Blasphemia.—When we turn to the few medieval representations of our legend
which are not connected with Solomon, we have to consider one more aspect of its inter-
pretation during the Middle Ages. Nobody will be surprised at the fact that most accounts
of it are furnished with some sort of theological moralization (*declaracio, reductio, moralitas*).
Characteristically, this does not apply to the earliest version known to us (*ca.* 1200),
namely, that of Alexander Neckam,[49] in which the legend, in a spirit not too different from
the Talmud story, was quoted in connection with the many deplorable cases of bastards
inheriting estates of noblemen, *exclusis ab hereditate filiis legitimis* (end of the preceding
chapter CLXXV). In later sources, however, moralizations abound. In the *Gesta Romanorum*
we find that the principal characters of the legend are clothed with allegory. In the "con-
tinental" *Gesta*[50] the father, for instance, is *Rex Regum*, his unfaithful wife *creatura generis
humani* (in the English version of the *Gesta* she is "Holy Chirche"!), the three illegitimate
sons *pagani, Judei et heretici*, the true son *bonus Christianus*; and these parallels were

47. The Christ-like appearance of the father possibly
indicates an influence of the allegorization dealt with in our
next chapter (below, p. 222), the more so as the nude behind
him, otherwise unexplained, suggests one of the Thieves of
a Crucifixion.

48. Erika Tietze-Conrat, *Der französische Kupferstich
der Renaissance*, Munich, 1925, p. 33 and pl. 19; Dumesnil,
VI, 23.

49. See note 10. Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen
Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1931, III, 786. A

Tractatus super Parabola Salomonis by the same author has
remained unpublished (Oxford, Jesus Coll., MS 94, fol. 57;
see M. Esposito, *English Historical Review*, XXX, 1915,
464).

50. See note 9. In the *Scala Coeli* (by Johannes Gobii,
1326, printed in Ulm, 1480) the father is identified with
Christ, his wife with *vita que parit tria genera hominum:
raptores . . . , blasphemi . . . , justi* (quoted by C. Müller,
p. IX; see our note 71).

carried even to the most intricate details of the shooting at the body of the father. On the other hand, we have already noticed that the widespread connection of the story with Solomon can be justified by quotations from his *Proverbs*, which emphasize an important feature of it, namely, *Pietas erga Parentes*. The story was, however, given a related, but more concise meaning by many authors: it was interpreted as a warning against *blasphemy*.

In the *Speculum Morale*, which for a long time was attributed to Vincent of Beauvais but has recently been proved to be a work compiled by an anonymous writer of the fourteenth century, our story appears twice: in a chapter *De Pietate erga Parentes*,[51] and in one of the chapters *De Blasphemia*.[52] In the latter connection it is already found in the *Summa Virtutum et Vitiorum* of Guglielmus Peraldus (Paraldus) who died in 1255.[53] This author deals with *Vigintiquattuor peccata linguae*, and within this vast realm the legend appears in a reference to parents who are to be blamed for tolerating blasphemies which they are able to prohibit: *qui non corrigunt filios suos blasphemantes;* and after a long tirade against places and occasions of blasphemy such as *tabernae* (*diaboli templa*), etc., he concludes: "The sons of God can be distinguished from the sons of the Devil as follows: the sons of God cannot tolerate their father's being pierced by the arrows of the blasphemous, whereas the sons of the Devil do not mind seeing God thus pierced. Which can be illustrated by this example . . . ,"[54] and then our story follows. The identification of oral blasphemy with *sagittare* was, of course, made with reference to our story, the only significant change being the transformation of the bodily father into "Father in Heaven." This new interpretation seems to have been instantly and widely accepted. It reappears in the *Gesta Romanorum* as a supplement to the moralization mentioned above. The second son, who *regem regum veraciter sagittavit*, is identified with the Jews, because they said: *Venite, percuciamus eum lingua* . . ., and the third, the heretic, " . . . kept piercing the heart of the supreme King with his poisoned spear. . . ", "hence the psalmist: They have sharpened their tongues like serpents; and again: They keep their arrows ready in their quivers."[55] Later on, this interpretation was taken up by Johannes Gritsch, a preacher of the Minorite Order, in his *Quadragesimale* which was written about 1430 and seems to have been immensely popular in the late fifteenth century, if one may judge from the large number of printed editions.[56] In *Alphabetum* xxxv (end of *Feria quarta post judica*) of his book, he tells the story quite briefly as of *quidam rex*, with three sons judged by an anonymous judge, and after referring to Solomon's *Simile judicium* in 1 Kings 3, he adds: "Thus the sons of the Devil, not of God, do not mind wounding with ignominious words or piercing with blasphemies Christ, the father of us all, and the mother of mercy."[57] It will be remembered that the oldest versions of our story mentioned lances as weapons of the brothers instead of bows and arrows. This comes to mind when one considers a wood-

51. Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum Morale*, Venice, Hermann Liechtenstein, Sept. 30, 1493, lib. III, pars X, dist. 25. This passage was copied word for word from Étienne de Bourbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, pars II (*De eis que pertinent ad donum pietatis*); see A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologue tirés du receuil inédit d' Étienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIII siècle*, Paris, 1877, p. 136, no. 160.

52. *Op. cit.*, lib. III, pars v, dist. 9 (fol. 203ᵛ).

53. Lib. II, tract. IX, pars II, cap. II; edition Basel, Amerbach, 1497, II, fols. 128ᵛ ff. Several writers copying the story from Peraldus have been listed by C. Müller (see note 71).

54. "In hoc distingui possunt filii dei a filiis diaboli: quod filii dei non possunt tolerare quod pater eorum a blasphemantibus sagittetur: filii vero diaboli non curant quando vident deum ita sagittari."

55. " . . . cor regis summi non desinit toxicato jaculo perforare . . . ," "unde Psalmista: Exacuerunt linguas sicut serpentes etc.; et iterum: Paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra."

56. See, for instance, the long list in Price Butler, *A Check List of Fifteenth Century Books in the Newberry Library and other Libraries of Chicago*, 1933. I have made use of the edition of 1477 ("Johannes Wienner de Wienna"); there exists also a beautiful Koberger edition of 1479.

57. "Sic filii dyaboli non dei, non curant christum patrem omnium nostrorum nec matrem misericodiae verbis contumeliosis vulnerare vel sagittare verbis blasphemiis."
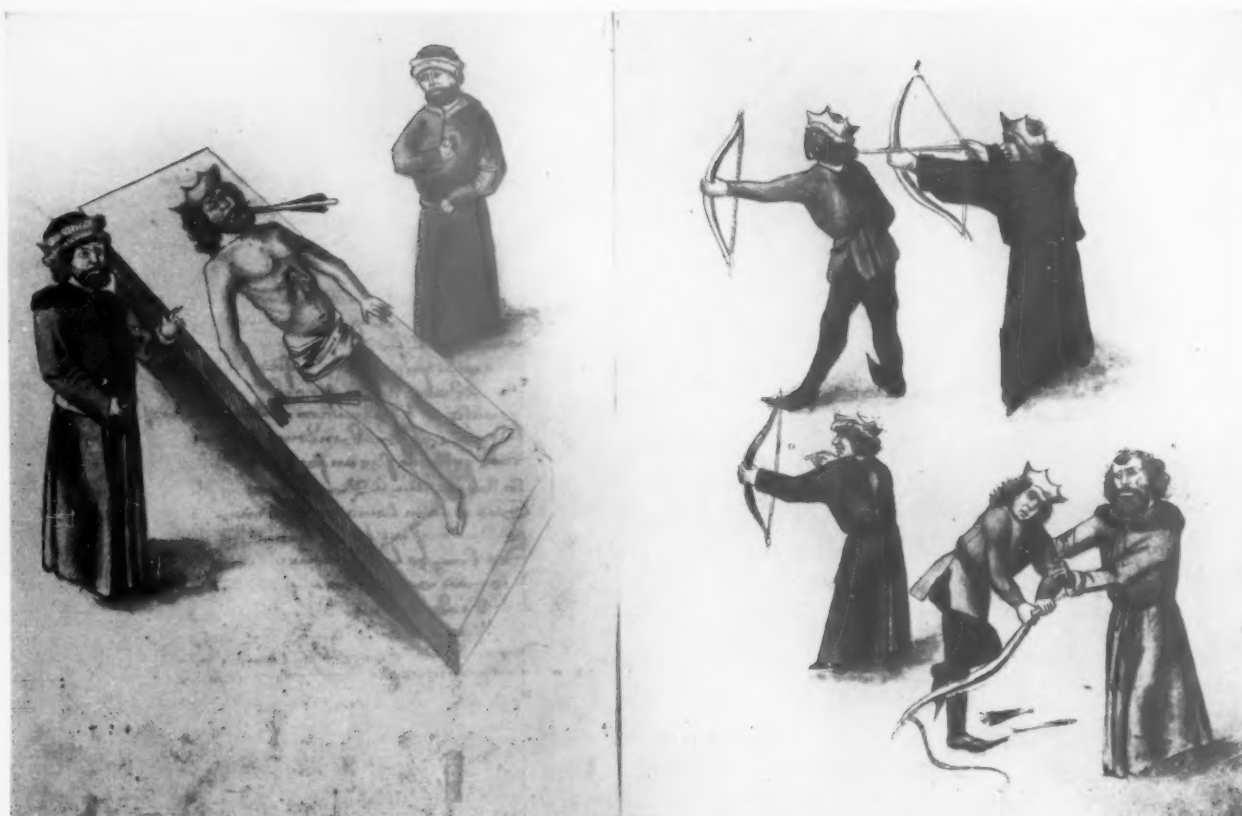
FIG. 19. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: MS 763, Hugo von Trimberg's "Der Renner," Bavarian *ca.* 1460, fols. 257ᵛ-258
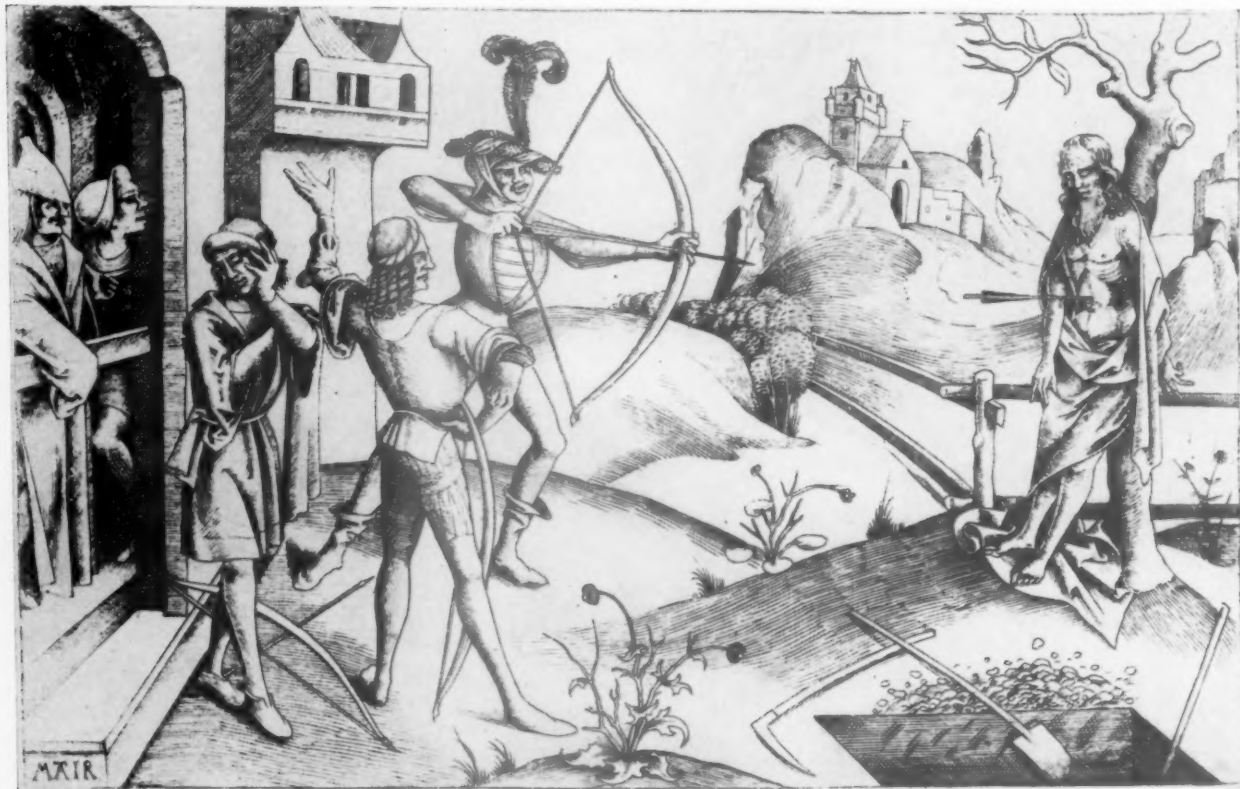

FIG. 20. Mair von Landshut, Engraving (L. 16), Late XV Century

"SHOOTING AT FATHER'S CORPSE" AS A MORAL TALE

cut which is found in the famous early Basel editions of Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*
and may consequently go back to young Albrecht Dürer himself. Here we find a man run-
ning his large javelin right through the crucified Christ. There is no direct reference to this
particular idea in the text which deals with the *Lästernarr* (the blasphemous fool) and
whose caption, in evident allusion to Proverbs 20: 20 reads: "Whoever curses God with
heavy blasphemies / lives in disgrace and dies without honor. Woe to him, too, who does
not object to such a thing." The illustrator has simply made use of a stock saying by show-
ing the *Lästernarr* in the act of *percutere Christum lingua*.[58] When we consult Johann
Geiler's commentary on Brant in his *Navicula sive speculum fatuorum* (Strassburg, 1511),[59]
we find not only the same woodcut again but also a specific reference to people *rursum
crucifigentes linguis suis illudentes et flagellantes Jesum Christum*, after which follows our
story, in a form rather closely related to Alexander Neckam's but with the sons shooting
arrows instead of throwing lances. It is significant to note that the legend was here again
placed under *Blasphemia* and not in a long chapter on *Kindnarren*[60] who do not honor their
parents.

One rendering of the story in German engraving of the late fifteenth century belongs
very definitely with this group of strictly moralized interpretations, rather than with the
fabliau version which was followed by Master MZ. It is the work of Mair von Landshut[61]
in which the shooting scene is witnessed by two casual spectators only (Fig. 20). No judge
is present, and there is not even an allusion to the Solomon version; instead, all emphasis
is placed upon the corpse of the father, the triumphant wickedness of the blasphemous
bastards despatching their arrows, and the pathetic gesture of horrified refusal on the
part of the true son.[62] It is a refined and highly individual kind of moralization: there
is no intimation of reward of the good or punishment of the bad; the spectator must draw
his own conclusion, finishing the story in his mind according to his own light. This is the
most subtle and most moving interpretation of the story in art despite its many awkward
details.

In conclusion, attention is called to the charmingly naïve colored drawings with which
a Bavarian illuminator of *ca.* 1460 accompanied our story on fols. 257ᵛ and 258ʳ of MS 763
of The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Fig. 19). This manuscript contains a poem
called *Der Renner*, which was written by Hugo von Trimberg (1235–1315). Following faith-
fully and literally the version of our legend in the text, the artist has represented four sons,
two of whom have already hit hand and mouth of their father, while the third is about
to send his arrow into the father-king's heart, and the fourth is quitting the cruel contest
in disgust.

III—"A PLEASANT HISTORY OF A GENTLEMAN IN THRACIA"

In the course of the sixteenth century, something strange yet almost inevitable hap-
pened: our legend became a story from antiquity. At the same time, it began to lose its
allegorical-moralized character and turned into a "story" in its own right. In both of
these respects it underwent a change that seems thoroughly characteristic of a great many

58. This was not realized by F. Zarncke, who in his excel-
lent edition of the *Narrenschiff* (Leipzig, 1854, commentary
on p. 431) tried to explain the javelin by referring to the
stories about blasphemants piercing the *Host*. But he
quotes a book by Andreas Musculus, *Vom Gotslestern*
(Frankfurt, 1556), as containing a title woodcut which
shows many people surrounding the Crucified and piercing

Him with *lances which emanate from their mouths*.
59. Turba LXXXVII, 28: "Lesternarren" (fol. o).
60. Turba xc, 29.
61. M. Lehrs, *op. cit.*, VIII, 314, no. 16.
62. Many versions of our story emphasize the fact that
the true son *wept* while refusing to shoot.

other myths and legends. But while most of these were *originally* handed down by ancient writers, Christianized during the Middle Ages, and ultimately *restored* to their antique shape,[63] ours had first to be *connected* with antiquity in some fashion.

It is amusing to see that this was done in a deliberate and avowed literary fake. When Theodor Zuinger (Zwinger), a Swiss doctor and humanist, included the story in his influential *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*, whose first edition was published in Basel in 1565,[64] he said: "Satyrus, Eumelus, and Prytanis, the sons of Parysadas, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (it is their names that have by some been attached like masks to the following story or fable) contended for the kingdom . . ."[65] and, at the end: "To prevent this story from remaining anonymous (ἀδέσποτον), we (!) have made it more dignified by borrowing the names from Diodorus who in his twentieth book deals fully with the wars of those brothers."[66] Indeed, Diodorus Siculus (lib. xx cap. 23) says only: "Around this time, in the Pontus, after the death of Parysadas who had been king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, his sons Eumelus, Satyrus, and Prytanis, were contending among themselves for the rule"; the result of this contest in Diodorus Siculus was not our judgment story but war, and *Ariopharnes Thracum rex* who functions as the judge in Zuinger's version, was really Eumelus' military ally, *Aripharnes rex Thatensium*.[67] But Zuinger's (or his informant's) impressive "antiquization," in which significantly enough, the point of the legitimacy of the three sons was dropped, made an immediate hit. It was repeated as early as 1568 in Hondorff's *Promtuarium Exemplorum*,[68] and also in Laurens Beyerlinck's *Magnum Theatrum Vitae Humanae* (first edition Cologne, 1631), and it seems that many authors fell for the Diodorus mystification or rather adaptation, including such prominent scholars as Hugo Grotius.[69] An English broadside of the early seventeenth century[70] introduces the story, fashioned after the "continental" version of the *Gesta Romanorum*, as "obtained from an ancient chronicle" and gives it the title which we have adopted for the caption above: "A pleasant History of a Gentleman in Thracia, which had four sonnes." A quaint mixture of medieval tradition, antique flavor, and contemporary religious interest is found in Martin Rinckhart's *Der Eislebische Christliche Ritter*, a play published in 1613.[71] The deceased father is the king of Scythia (as in Hondorff's *Promtuarium*), and the judge "King Pentonomus"; but the three sons, in a startling fusion of the *Gesta*-interpretation (where they were identified with Jews, Heretics, and Good Christians) and the theological quarrels of

63. Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, passim.

64. On Zuinger see *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Neuenburg, 1934, VII, 778. In his *Theatrum Vitae Humanae* he made extensive use of the notes collected by his father-in-law, Conrad Lycosthenes (Wolfhart). As early as 1552, Hans Sachs, in his *Historie der dreyer sön*, identified the father of our story with a "King of Sicily" (according to C. Müller, p. IX; see note 71; Wilhelm Abele, *Die antiken Quellen des Hans Sachs*, Cannstatt, 1877, p. 107). Was "Sicily" corrupted from "Scythia"? In any event, the early date (thirteen years prior to Zuinger's publication) remains remarkable.

65. Lib. IV, vol. VII, p. 1910 of the edition of 1586, according to E. Marshall, *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, VIII, 1877, 356, also quoted in full by Herrtage, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

66. "Satyrus, Eumelus et Prytanis, Parysadae Bosphorii Cimmerii regis filii (horum enim nomina sequenti seu historiae seu fabulae, quidam veluti larvas induxere), de regno contendebant . . . Ne exemplum hoc ἀδέσποτον esset, nominibus ex Diodoro mutuatis cohonestavimus, qui de horum fratrum bellis lib. xx fuse tractat."

67. This discrepancy was scornfully stated by Cornelius

de Lapide in his Commentary on III Kings 3: 25 (quoted by Herrtage, *op. cit.*, p. 478): "Sed Diodorus praeter nomina Ariopharnis et filiorum regis Cimmeriorum nil tale habet: quare mihi id ipsum de fide historica suspectum et mythicum videtur."

68. See C. Müller's edition of Rinckhart, p. x; see note 71.

69. *Opera omnia theologica*, Amsterdam, 1679, I, p. 145; Otto Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige*, second edition, Leipzig, 1873, p. 29.

70. Reprinted in Payne Collier's *Book of Roxburghe Ballads*, 1847, and by Wm. Underhill, *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, VIII, 1877, 357. In the same periodical, same volume, p. 281, W. Sparrow Simpson published a sermon of the early seventeenth century, where our story still occurs in the "blasphemy" context (" . . . yff we shoote at gods harte with othes, we are not to be counted his naturall sonnes . . . ").

71. New edition, with most valuable introduction by Carl Müller, in *Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts*, no. 53–54, Halle, 1883. Rinckhart is the author of "Nun danket alle Gott."

the time, are called *Pseudo-Petrus* (Catholics), *Johann* (Calvinists), and—*Ritter Martin*, the Lutheran, the only good son! It is only fair to add that *Pseudo-Petrus* and *Johann* prove to be poor shots.

A drawing in the Chicago Art Institute ("Netherlandish," dated 1584)[72] furnishes a good pictorial corollary of the change toward antiquity (Fig. 16). The scene occurs in a landscape enlivened by two obelisks; the three sons and the spectators wear Roman costumes; the judge is evidently the "King Ariopharnes" of the Zuinger version. The artist tried to make the good son the center of the onlooker's attention by placing him exactly in the center of the composition, but the result is rather disappointing. In a painting by Pietro Montanini (Perugia-Rome, 1626–1689),[73] the story has almost been reduced to a *staffage* of the Rosa-like landscape. As the father's body is pierced by the two arrows, the true son breaks his bow in protest before the royal judge who is surrounded by "Roman" soldiers and insignia.

A rather efficient rendering of the legend, about half a century earlier than Montanini's picture, is the drawing in the possession of the State Historical Society in Madison, Wisconsin (Fig. 15).[74] Its authorship is not easy to determine. The old attribution to Parmeggianino suggests much too early a date; its sweeping contours and other stylistic criteria place it in the beginning of the seventeenth century, either in North Italy or in France. Its setting is strictly classicistic, although its style betrays late-manneristic reminiscences. The judgment is enacted on the steps of a kind of Roman basilica; other classical buildings are seen in the background. The stern judge, the two sons,[75] the two soldiers in the left foreground, and the body of the father are all shown in heroic half-nudity. The expression of inconsiderate hurry in the one brother, of shocked and humble renunciation in the other, is well conceived and conveyed. Looking at this interpretation, one would not doubt for a moment that the story was found in Livy or Valerius Maximus, so thoroughly antique has it become at the end of its metamorphosis from the "Law of the Talmud," via the "Wisdom of Solomon" and the "Warning against Blasphemy," to "A Pleasant History of a Gentleman in Thracia."

OBERLIN COLLEGE

72. Inv. 22. 1884. Pen, bistre, and ink, 208 by 292 mm. On the back inscribed by an eighteenth(?)-century hand, "M. Heemskirk" (but Maerten van Heemskerck died in 1574). Ex coll. Dr. W. Ogle (London, Sotheby, Feb. 6, 1913). Probably Dutch.

73. Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom*, Berlin, n.d., p. 573, repr. p. 299.

74. Pen and bistre, 6¼ by 9¼ inches. Collector's mark: *S* in cogwheel; said to have been in Fairfax Murray collection; coll. Charles Noble Gregory (bequeathed to the Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1932).

75. There seem to be only two of them: a late reminiscence of the *fabliau*?

NEW DOCUMENTS ON MICHELOZZO

BY RUFUS GRAVES MATHER

WHEN I was last in Florence, I transcribed all the *Portate al Catasto* (Tax Declarations) of Michelozzo and, finding them of much interest, felt that it would be well to publish them. Those of 1427 and 1446 were published in part with errors (in the case of the former with summaries of other parts) by Giovanni Gaye[1] who also referred to those of 1430 and 1433 without citations. All the others are new and, for the first time, all Michelozzo's *Portate* are published together. Those of 1442 and 1469 are of special importance. With the exception of those of 1430 and 1469, all the *Portate* were written by Michelozzo with his own hand.

In the *Portata* of 1427 (Doc. 1) it will be seen that Michelozzo had been associated with Donatello for about two years. This partnership lasted until 1433. It will also be noted that he had worked with Ghiberti on the statue of S. Matteo made for the *Arte del Cambio* and that there was a balance due on it of 13 florins. Michelozzo writes furthermore about the tomb of Cardinal Baldassare Coscia in the Baptistery in Florence, and the tomb of Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci at Naples; also he gives information about the tomb of Messer Bartolomeo da Monte Pulciano, Papal Secretary. It should also be noted that a marble statue made for S. Maria del Fiore had been only partly paid for. The student will also observe that Michelozzo was employed at the mint. We shall hear more of the *ghazonetto* employed to help the old Mona Antonia, and much more of the Monte Pulciano tomb.

The *Portata* of 1430 (Doc. 2), written by Giovanni in Michelozzo's absence, is brief and reports that when the brother returns he will make a report.

In 1433, Michelozzo is back in Florence and writes his *Portata* (Docs. 3 & 4). It reveals two points of human interest. Apparently Tedaldo Tedaldi is not to expect that any considerable amount of back rent on the *bottegha* leased to Michelozzo and Donatello will be paid, for we note: "ma indigrosso credo ara (avra) avere piccola cosa." Also the *ghazonetto* who waits on Mona Antonia, as he grows seems to become obnoxious, for Michelozzo writes, "Teniamo Mona Antonia nostra madre deta danj 70 inferma e bisogna tenere chillagoverni (chi la governi) con ispesa e noia assai." In my opinion he hoped to receive a deduction of 200 florins on the ground that he had to maintain this "mouth" also. If this was so he was disappointed, as it will be seen in the *Campione* (a second writing used by the Notary to compute the tax) that the Notary of the Catasto, while admitting the expense, did not grant the deduction. But he could not deprive Michelozzo of freeing his mind. It will be noted that among Michelozzo's debtors is "Piero di donino horafo abita aroma." This might indicate that Michelozzo had been to Rome.

The *Portata* of 1442 (Doc. 5) is unique because the usual *Campione* is missing, and it contains information of the highest importance because in the margin the Notary wrote "Jntagliatore alle portj di sangiovanj." (See Fig. 1 and also Fig. 2, the holograph *Portata* of Ghiberti in the same month, where a similar note was written by the Notary.) Milanesi[2] says that Michelozzo worked on the doors in 1442. He may or may not have seen this document; but he must certainly have known the *Spogli Strozziani* published by Patch & Cocchi in 1770.

For me, the most spectacular stories of the doors are the two of Joseph and the one of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. For bravura, perspective, and technique they are mar-

1. *Carteggio inedito*, Florence, 1839, 1, 117–20.   2. Vasari, *Le Vite, ed. Milanesi*, 1878, 11, 432.

vels of their kind. Ghiberti was a master-sculptor and, certainly for at least five of the
stories, had need only of assistants. But, in my opinion, wishing to provide variety in
several of the stories by figuring them in an architectural surrounding, he could have
used an architect, sculptor, and bronze-caster of the first order, for instance in the beautiful
loggia in one story of Joseph and in the temples in the other story of Joseph and Solomon
and the Queen of Sheba. Michelozzo could fully qualify in all three capacities. Also, he
had already worked with Ghiberti so that it was natural and logical that he should have
been asked to work on the doors. I must leave it to those more competent than I am,
bearing all this in mind, to decide what part Michelozzo took in the three stories already
referred to, and those of the Fall of Jericho and David and Goliath or on the frame. What-
ever part he took, it must have been important to justify the marginal note of the Notary
on his *Portata* of 1442. It will be observed that Ghiberti wrote his *Portata* two days after
Michelozzo penned his. I like to feel that it is not beyond the range of possibility that
Ghiberti, to give Michelozzo the honor which he believed that he should have, himself
suggested to the Notary to write the marginal note on Michelozzo's *Portata*.

The last words written by Michelozzo in his *Portata* of 1442 would seem to indicate that
not only was he not working on the doors that year, but also that he had some time before
ended his work on them, for he wrote "*Truovomi esser stato e al presente sono sanza nessun
inviamento dellarte mia ne daltra cosa lodato iddio.*" This remark is in sad contrast to the mar-
ginal note of the Notary. Fortunately, we find that, during the period 1444–1447, he began
to build Palazzo Medici,[3] assisted Luca della Robbia on the bronze doors of the Sacristy
of the Duomo, made bronze objects for the High Altar, a bronze grille for the chapel of S.
Stefano,[4] and the bronze doors for the Canon's Sacristy.[5]

The *Portate* of 1446 (Doc. 6) and 1451 (Docs. 7 & 8) call for no comment.

In the *Portata* of 1457 (Doc. 9) we note that the heirs of Messer Bartolomeo da Monte
Pulciano have not paid the balance of 60 florins for the tomb which seems to have been
started in 1430. Also, that "i Frati dei Servi" (today Santissima Annunziata) still owed
him 60 florins per "lavori fattiloro." Then Michelozzo ends his *Portata* with these words:
"Truovomi dellarte detta sanza niun aviamento cogli incharichi e spese che di sopra vedete."
Too often I have seen similar statements in the *Portate* of the artists of the Quattrocento.

Coming to the last *Portata* of 1469 (Doc. 10), we have the valuable note on the margin
opposite Michelozzo's name, heading the "Bocche," "a raghusa." This notation is very
faint, and it took much time to decipher it. However, my reading was confirmed by the
Catasto expert at the Archivio di Stato, Dott. Santini. As Michelozzo was absent from
Florence, the usual custom in such cases was followed here, so that the deduction of 200
florins was not allowed for him. Milanesi[6] cites a document showing that Michelozzo was
in Ragusa in 1464. Apparently, Michelozzo was in Ragusa for five or six years; just how
much longer he may have remained there we do not know. We note that the tomb, started
thirty-nine years ago, has not been paid for, and that the Frati dei Servi have not reimbursed
him "per lavori fatti loro per me piu temp fa dei quali no credo mai havere niente." He
owes 51 florins for cloth for his daughter's marriage, 21 florins to her father for her dowry,
and 16 florins to the *Comune di Firenze*. Dead credits amount to 120 florins and live

3. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, xxiv, 1930, 530.

4. Giovanni Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 220–25, 237, and 238. Alan Marquand, *Luca della Robbia*, Princeton University Press, 1914, pp. 19, 79, 196, 197, 198, 199. Rufus G. Mather, "Nuovi Documenti Robbiani,"

L'arte, xxi, 1918, 197 and 198.

5. I found this document, which has not yet been published, in the Account Books of the Opera di S. Maria del Fiore, 1444–1446.

6. Vasari, *Le Vite, ed. Milanesi*, 1878, vol. ii, 449.

debts to 92 florins. Truly a sad last statement of a famous master who was seventy-five years old.   It is not known when Michelozzo returned to Florence, but the *Libro della Grascia 1457–1506* in the Archivio di Stato, on page 116, under the heading "Ottobre 1472" states "Michelozzo Recato in san marcho adi 7 dottobre."

DOCUMENT 1

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1427

Dinanzi a voj signorj oficialj di chatasto del popolo e cita di firenze

Questa e la sustanza e jncharichj di noj (*two words written and canceled*) fratelli e figluolj di Bartolomeo dj gherardo borgognonj [*In margin:* lionardo Zanobi (*canceled*) Michelozo Giovannj] prestanziati nella presente strabuzione di prestanzonj quartiere sco Giovanni gonfalone drago in fj 3 dj 1 aoro e para (?)

Una chasa posta nella via largha che da primo via secondo Antonio di raimondo da terzo lucha roso quarto . . . jn detta chasa abitano detti fratelli concerte masserizie alloro uso . . .

Jo Michelozzo di bartolomeo o (ho) fatta et do questa scritta e quivi dia mia sustanza et jncharichj altra sustanzia propria non o (ho) che certi debitorj coe debo avere dalarte del chanbio per resto della figura di sco Matteo quando ero compagno di lorenzo di barteluccio fj 13

(*Here he names 15 other debtors for total credits of fj 50-5-5*)

Segue di michelozo la bottegha fa el detta conpagnia taranno per meta

E piu essercizio larte dellontaglio compagno di donato di nicholo di Betto bardj detto donatello sanza niuno corpo ossuo (o suo) o mio excepto fi trenta jn piu ferramentj e masserizie da (*a word written and canceled*) essercizio e piu

Una muletta costo fj x perche chonviene andare bisogno andare atorno spesso

Abiano fralle manj glinfrascritti lavorj jn due anni o circha sono stati compagnj coe

Una sepoltura per in sco govanj di firenze per Messer Baldassari coscia cardinale di firenze Abiano avere a farla a tutta nostra spesa fi ottocento coe fi 800 doro in oro de qualj abiano autj fi. seciento o circha coe fi. 600 e quali dj (denari) vabiano entro spesi tutti et anchora non e finita e pero non posiano arbitrare in che si resti la chosa di patto ci terrano stare in capitale

Una sepoltura per a napolj di Messer Rinaldo cardinale di branchacj di napolj dobiamo avere fi. ottociento cinquanta di camera e a tutta nostra spesa labiano a conpiere e condurre a napoli lavorialla a pisa stimiano no sia fatto el quarto dessa chenneabiano per parte di spesa a conduciere fj. treciento coe fj. 300 doro in oro o circha Arbitrara lutile che si usa si possa fare non so essendo tutto adrieto chome

Una sepoltura per a monte pulciano di messer Bartolomeo da Monte pulciano Secretario di Papa della quale nonno (non ho) pregio se fatto senonche quando illavorio sara fornito si de (ve) stimare per amicj comunj potea essere di maggior spesa o di minore che non si stimava prima sechondo si remutasse pensiero abiano per fare venire marmj fj. ciento coe fj. 100

Una figura di marmo di braccia 3 1/3 per sca maria del fiore che (che è) fornita 3/4 pagato a stima che si usa stimare simili figure fj. 90 in 100 abianne autj—coe in conto fj. trenta sette coe fj. 37 doro in oro

Istimo tuttj dettj lavorj in mia parte fj. 200

Jo michelozo sono alla Zeccha intagliatore di ferrj della moneta ve (v'è) da choniare per 6 mesi per volta e arragione danno ne trago fj. xx o circha che vanno in questa conpagnia creditorj e alti jncharichj a preso detta bottegha (*8 named for a total of fj. 69.5.0*)

Jo michelozo detto proprio mi truovo con questa famiglia jn chasa che non la graveza sopra me proprio chonaltrj niente ne tocha chome dovrebbe cioe dare le spese in nostra madre che (che è) vecchia e tengo per bisogno di luj uno ghazonetto in chasa e piu dare le spese come o detto in giovannj mio fratello quando cie et amme proprio

Le Bocche di tuttj noj di chasa sono questi cioe

antonia nostra madre donna fu di bartolomeo di gherardo nostro padre dannj 70

Lionardo nostro fratello di fuorj danj 38

Zanobi nostro fratello no sta in firenze al presente . . . (*9 words canceled*) danj 36

Michelozo sta in chasa danj 31

Govanj nostro fratello sta in chasa danj 24

Archivio di Stato, Portata al Catasto 1427 (written by Michelozzo and Giovanni).   Quartiere di San Giovanni, Gonfalone Drago segnato Filza 54 a. c. 210, 210¹, e 211.   The Campione, Filza 79 a.c. 507, gives the same information but adds that, for two years, there has been no news of Lionardo and states the tax of Sol. XII.

DOCUMENT 2

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1430

Dinanzi da voj signorj uficialj di catasto si raporta la sustanza dj noj lionardo dj bartolomeo dj gerardo e michelozo e giovannj suoj frateglj acastatj nel gonfalone del drago dj San giovanj dj Sol. XII

3/4 duna casa non divisá nella via largha del popolo di sa marcho la quale abitano per nostro uso e per nostre maserizie . . .

3/4 duna casa di sandonino (*sic*) posta nel popolo di sandonino . . .

FIG. 1. Michelozzo's Portata of 1442. In his Autograph, Excepting Marginal Note

FIG. 2. Ghiberti's Portata of 1442. In his Autograph, Excepting Marginal Notes

per ora non posiamo raportare e fattj di michelozo nostro fratello non cie in firenze crediamo abia a fare chon alchune persone in dare et avere e pensiano abia saldata una cagione chon alchuna persona da monte pulciano avere chol comune detto e chosj chol comune di prato e altrj luoghi che non volo saperne dire acj (?) a essere eglj per di quivi adj 18 di febraio come pensiano edeglj vavisare dj tutto

Incharichj dj me govanj proprio . . .

boche

lionardo detto e dj suoj danj	40
Mona antonia nostra madre danj	70
Michelozo detto danj	32
govanj detto danj	27

Archivio, Quartiere e Gonfalone idem, Portata al Catasto 1430 (written by Giovanni), segnato Filza 381 a.c. 376.

DOCUMENT 3
PORTATA AL CATASTO 1433

+adi 30 di maggio 1433

Dinanzi davoj Signori uficialj del Chatasto si notifica le sustanze e incharichj di noj coe fratelli e figliolj fumo di Bartolomeo di gherardo borgognonj [*In margin:* Michelozzo Lionardo Giovanj] Quartiere Santo Giovanni Gonfalone drago e di mona antonia nostra Madre

Una chasa . . . nella via largha . . .

Una chasa . . . a sandonino . . .

Creditorj di Michelozzo proprio . . .

Tedaldo tedaldi di pigione duna bottegha tenemo dallui a pigione donato di nicholo sopradetto Michelozzo della quale non a fatto saldo Ma indigrosso Credo poche cose restera avere . . .

Abbiamo Mona antonia nostra madre deta dannj 70 inferma e bisogna tenere chilla governj (chi la governi) con ispesa e noi assai   sol. 5

Archiv. Quart. e Gonfalone idem, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1433 segnato Filza 475.

Filza No. 477 c. 275, e 275¹ gives the same information supplied in Docs. 3 and 4 but adds:

Creditorj di Michelozzo proprio

Ruberto daghagljano e compagnia lanaiulolj f 26 e qualj sono per chagione duna compagnia o (ho) con donato di nicholo al mestiere nostro dello intaglio i qualj fj. 26 tocchassero a ciascuno di noj per meta fj. 13

This third version of the Portata of 1433 was also written by Michelozzo.

DOCUMENT 4
PORTATA AL CATASTO 1433

Sustanza dj frateglj e figliuolj di bartolomeo di gherardo borgognonj [*In margin:* Michelozzo Lionardo Giovannj] e Mona antonia loro madre anno di chatasto sol. 5

Una chasa . . . posta nelavia largha . . .

Una chasa . . . posta nel popolo di sancto donino . . .

Tiella afitto Nanno dj lottino da sandonino dane lano danarj lib. 9

Capponj paia uno a fj. 7 percento—fj. 35 sol. 14

debitorj di Michelozzo proprio

Comune di firenze per uno asegnamento fattoglj per luficio de Dieci dela balia insulanposta fatta a prestiti (?) laquale tiene perduta	lib. 285
Piero di donino horafo abita aroma	lib. 83
Piero di lionardo di teo e nelarocha de bruscholj	lib. 29
francesco di guachinotto chavalchantj	lib. 25
425 ragionati—	fj. 175

A presso a (ha) piu lavorj nelle mani delarte sua delontaglio cominciati edessi presi parte de dj (danari) de qualj non e patto stagliato e pero dicie se dessj fara guadagno o perdita questo sapartiene Michelozzo detto—   fj—

piu dicie avere paghatj piu dj (danarj) in piu volte pe suo frateglj dicie dandoglj per debitorj loro lo porterebero per creditore e niente verebbe a dare al chatasto e pero non da il saldo

Segue Michelozzo e frateglj e la madre
+jncharichj e creditori

Ruberto di chaglano e conpagnia per una promessa dj fj. 26 tochane a Michelozzo	fj. 13—fj. 13
Antonio di giovannj di giusto orafo	fj. 2 lib 2—
Mariotto di giovannj segna e conpagnia	fj. 3—fj. 3
Alesandro degli alesandrj e conpagnia	fj. 2—fj. 2
Andrea dantonio tazzj e fratellj	fj. 5—fj. 5
Stoldo elanberto frescobaldj	fj. 17—fj. 17
Roberto dagliano e conpagnia	fj. 3—fj. 3
Tedaldo tedaldj per parte di pigione di una botegha tene daluj donatello e Michelozzo non anno fatto saldo	fj.—fj.—

+Creditorj di Giovani
. . .

Ano la madre loro inferma dani 70 e bisogna a ghovernarla grande ispese

+Bocche

Michelozzo di bartolomeo	danni	
Lionardo suo fratello	danni	
Giovanni suo fratello	danni	
Mona antonia loro madre	danni 70	fj. 800
chonposto in sol. sej		fj. Sol. VI

Archiv. Quart. e Gonf. idem. Portata al Catasto 1433 Campione segnato Filza 498 a.c. 45¹ e 46.

DOCUMENT 5
PORTATA AL CATASTO 1442
Adi 28 dagosto 1442

[*In margin:* Michelozo di bartolomeo–Intagliatore alle portj di Sangiovannj (*written by Notary*)]

dinanzi davoj Signori diecj uficialj della conservazione e aumentazione della nuova graveza del comune di firenze

Si notificha i benj immobilj e rendita di Me

Michelozzo di bartolomeo di gherardo Borgognone prestanziato nel quartiere di Sco Giovanni Gonfalone dragho e primo

una chasa per la mia abitazione posta nel detto quartiere e ghonfalone e nella via largha . . .

una Casa con aia e orto posta nel popolo di Sancto donino a brozzi . . .

Essi afitatata la detta casa per la dreto moltj anj contutte le sue apartenenzie aberto di lottino e a nannj suo fratello edaltri di detto luogho per fj. 3.9.4. per anno fj. 4

e piu delbo (debbo) avere creditore almonte deleone dj firenze pej dj (danari) paghatj del primo secondo e terzo chatasto dequalj non trovo tirato altro che fj. lj

Avemmo nel primo chatasto che diceva lionardo zanobj Michelozzo e govanj sol. x nel sechondo sol. viij nel terzo sol. v

<div align="right">Soma fj. 4 (<i>written by Notary</i>)</div>

Le boche son queste

Michelozzo deta	dannj—42	
franciescha sua dona	annj	20
Bartolomeo mio figluolo	Mesi	8
	anj	2

Truovomi essere stato e al presente sono sanza nessuno inviamento dell arte mia ne daltra cosa lodato idd(i)o

Truovomi in mio nome proprio di graveza nella cinquina fj. 1 sol v per lo terzo

Archiv. Quart. e Gonf. idem, Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1442 segnato Filza 625 a.c. 79 e 79ᵗ.

DOCUMENT 6

PORTATA AL CATASTO 1446

<div align="center">+</div>

Quartiere Sancto Giovanni Ghonfalone dragho
Michelozzo di bartolomeo di gherardo intaglatore

A di graveza	sol. 9
Nel dispiacimento	sol. 9
Nel primo chatasto	sol. 8

<div align="center">Sustanze</div>

una chasa per mia abitazione posta nella via largha . . .

una chasa per mio uso posta nel popolo di Sancto donino a brozzi luogo detto valle . . .

uno pezzo di vigna posto in detto popolo luogho detto el chiuso . . .

<div align="center">Boche</div>

Michelozzo predetto deta dannj	49
francesca mia donna deta dannj	25
figliuolj	
Bartolomeo deta dannj	5
Piero deta dannj	4
Antonia deta dannj	2
Nicholo deta danj e mesi	6

Archiv. Quart. e Gonf. idem. Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1446 Filza segnata No. 680 a.c. 909.

DOCUMENT 7

PORTATA AL CATASTO 1451

<div align="center">+Mccccᴌj</div>

Quartiere Santo Giovannj Gonfalone drago
Michelozzo di Bartolomeo di gherardo intagliatore descripto nel primo chatasto
Sotto nome di Lionardo Michelozzo e Giovannj figliuolj di bartolomeo predetto

<div align="center">Sustanze</div>

Una casa per la mia abitazione posta in firenze nella via larga . . .

Una chasa chon corte e orto posta nel popolo di Santo donino a brozzi . . .

. . . in lib 16 di fitto di poj moltiannj sono la tengho per mia abitazione

<div align="center">Conperato dj poj</div>

Un pezzo di vigna di staiora quatro a corda posto nel detto popolo luogho detto il chiuso . . . rende lanno barilj otto di vino

Ebj di decima nel 47	sol. 10

Paghaj per grazia conricrescimento sol. 5 per gravezza

Archiv. Quart. e Gonf. idem. Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1451 segnato Filza 716 a.c. 264.

DOCUMENT 8

PORTATA AL CATASTO 1451

<div align="center">+Mccccᴌj</div>

Quartiere San Giovanj Gonfalone dragho
[*In margin:* Ricordato]
Michelozo di bartolomeo di gherardo intagliatore descripto nel primo chatasto sotto nome dj Lionardo Michelozzo e giovanj di bartolomeo detto

<div align="center">Sustanze</div>

Una casa posta in firenze nella via larga per mio abitazione . . .

Una casa concorte e orto posta nel popolo di Sancto donino a brozzi . . .

Affitavasi al tenpo del primo catasto in lib. Sedicj di poj moltannj la tengho per mia abitazione fj. 2 13 9

<div align="center">Conperato di poj</div>

Un pezo di vingna di staiora quatro a corda deposta in detto popolo luogo detto il chiuso . . .	fj. 2
ebj di decima nel 47	sol. 10

Pagaj per gratia conrincrescimento per graveza sol. 5

<div align="center">[<i>Added by the Notary</i>]</div>

	4.13.9
abattj per fj. 5 percento	4.5
	Resta fj. 4.9.4
Tochaglj a sol. 400 per fj(orino) fj.—	sol. 17 dj 4

Archiv. Quart. e Gonf. idem. Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1451 segnato Campione No. 715 a.c. 547.

DOCUMENT 9

PORTATA AL CATASTO 1457

Quartiere di Sco Giovannj gofalone drago
Michelozo di bartolomeo di gherardo intagliatore al

primo Catasto dissi di bartolomeo di gherardo [*In margin:* Leonardo Zanobj Michelozzo e Giovanj] avemone per compositione   sol. 8

La cinquina dissi Michelozzo detto   sol. 9

Elavalsente Michelozo detto   sol. 16

Sustanze

una Chasa commasserizie auso di me e della mia famiglia posta nel popolo di Sco Marco di firenze nella via larga . . .

una Chasa concortte et orto e altrj definj posta nel popolo di sco donino a brozzi . . .

uno pezzo di vingna posta in detto popolo di staora quatro acorda . . .

Tiella a mezzo papi di filippo di detto popolo

Rende anno per ano circha bb 10 di vino

Conperaj detta vingna delano 1432 da ciocio . . . di detto popolo per fj. 25

debitori

Rede di Messer bartolomeo di francesco di monte pulciano per resto duna sepoltura glj fecj circha anj 20 passati   fj. 60   fj. 60

Nicolo di papo di mino di detto luogho   fj. 5   fj. 5

Comune di firenze servitj nelcassero di monte pulciano sono finitj e sono sanza assegnamento   fj. 44   fj. 10

Fratj e convento de Servi di firenze Fj. 60   fj. 60

Manetto di . . . ottonaio   fj. 1 1/2   fj. 1 10

Creditorj

Giovanni di Messer Mano   fj. 9 1/2

domenicho di Tono   fj. 6

Giotto dandrea calzaiulo   fj. 1 1/2

Gino Ginorj   fj.   2/3

Incharichj e boche

Michelozzo detto deta	dannj	61	fj. 200*
Francesca Mia donna	annj	35	fj. 200

figliolj legittimj

Bartolomeo	annj	16	fj. 200
Piero	annj	15	fj. 200
Nicholo	annj	10	fj. 200
Bernardo	annj	2 1/2	fj. 200

figlie femine legittime

Antonia anj sanza dote	13	fj. 200
Marietta sanza dote anj	4	fj. 200

Truovomi dellarte detta sanza niuno in viamento eglj incharichj e spese che di sopra vedete   C. 456

* This column of figures written by the Notary.

[*All the following written by the Notary to compute the tax*]

Saldo

Soma la prima faccia	fj. 92 17 3
Soma la sechonda	fj. 136 10
	233. 7. 3

abbattj fj. 5 percento a fj. 22 sol. 17   fj. 4 sol. 12 dj 10

abattj per 8 bocche   fj. 1600

     Manchaglj   fj. 1371

conposto in sol. quatro   Ricordato

     Ser datino lo notaro

     Sol. 4

Archiv. Quart. e Gonf. idem. Portata (autograph) al Catasto 1457, Filza segnato No. 825 a.c. 455, 455ᵗ e 456. The Campione (also written by Michelozzo) No. 827 a.c 293 e 293ᵗ is a repetition.

DOCUMENT 10

PORTATA AL CATASTO 1469

Quartiere di Sco Giovannj Gonfalone drago

Michelozo di bartolomeo di Gherardo intagliatore

Disse el chatasto del 1427 in Lionardo e Michelozo e Giovannj fratellj e figluolj dj Bartolomeo di gherardo detto et havemo di detto catasto in detto gonfalone   fj.—sol. 12 dj

Ebbi di valsente nel 1451 in detto gonfalone in nome dj Michelozo sopradetto   fj—sol. 17 dj 11

Ebbi di catasto nel 1458 in detto nome e Gonfalone   fj.—sol. 4 dj —

Ebbi di ventina nel 1468 in detto nome e Gonfalone   fj.—sol. 6 dj 3

perche fu richresciuto nel Due decime

Una casa per mio abitare posta nela via largha nel popolo di Santo Marco . . .

Una chasetta con corte et orto posta nel popolo di san donino abrozzi . . .

Uno pezzo di vigna vecchia di staiora quattro a corda posta nel detto popolo luogho detto rancho . . .

Bocche

[*In margin opposite next line:* a raghusa]

Michelozo detto deta dannj	75		fj. —
Mona franchescha mia donna dannj		50	fj. 200
Bartolomeo mio figluolo dannj	28		fj. 200
Ser Nicolo mio figluolo notaro danni		25	fj. 200
Barnardo mio figluolo danni	12		fj. 200
lisabetta mia figluola danni	10		fj. 200

sanza dote

Debitori

Ho havere dalle Herede dj Messer Bartolomeo dj francesco di monte pulciano per resto duna cappella fattaglj et una sepultura insino nel 1430 fj. 60 inchircha

Ho havere da fratj e convento de Servi per lavori fatti loro per me piu tenpo fa dequalj non credo mai avere niente

Ho debito

Con Bernardo di lapo Nicolini lanaiulo per uno panno levato dalluj nellanno passato per maritare una mia figluola   fj. 51

Ho dare a Agostino di Gugladore per resto della dote della mia figluola   fj. 25 incircha

Ho debito col comune di firenze come si puo vedere fj. 16 incircha et pagho di compositione

Somma la prima faccia di benj   f. 92 17 3

Abatti per bocche 5   fj. 1000

Chonposto per partita degliuficialj in fj.—sol quatro

Roghato Ser nicolo forrinj nostro chancelliere fj.—sol. 4

Archiv. Quart. e Gonf. idem. Portata al Catasto 1469 Campione segnato No. 926 a.c. 109 e 109ᵗ.

NOTES ON THE ART OF SILVESTRO DELL' AQUILA

BY LAURINE MACK BONGIORNO

THE Farnsworth Museum of Wellesley College has recently acquired a painted terracotta bust of the Virgin (Fig. 1).[1] A provincial work, it none the less possesses the homely grace, united with sure design and sensitive craftsmanship, which constitutes the charm of so many of the minor but representative works of the Italian Renaissance. In drapery and feature it follows a type which seems to have originated in the Abruzzi near the end of the fifteenth century and to have retained its popularity there through the larger part of the following century.

The bust, which is life size,[2] is cut off just above the waist. The head bends forward, the gaze is down. The features, all of them prominent, receive added emphasis from the abrupt change of plane in the cheeks. The neck is long, but broad, and firmly implanted in the massive shoulders. The Virgin wears a heavy gold mantle incised with stars and lined with blue, which fits snugly over the head and frames the face with two great conical folds that curve down from the top of the head like inverted horns of plenty. This garment is fastened on the breast by a strap ornamented with a jeweled brooch.[3] A thin veil, painted a delicate bluish grey, drops low over the forehead and falls in crushed folds beneath the mantle, its pointed ends resting on the tightly-fitting dress of muted red. Above the neckline is a guimpe of the same color and texture as the veil.

In spite of chipping and repainting, the bust is in good condition.[4] Vestiges of primary paint visible beneath the scaling pigment indicate that the original color scheme has been preserved. The head has undoubtedly undergone some reconditioning, though the extent will be impossible to determine until the paint is removed. There seems to be a small repair in the upper lip in the center and a little to the right. The front surface of the chin is noticeably rubbed. Over the eyebrows, which themselves may have been lowered at their outer extremities, the edge of the veil appears to have been patched in spots and smoothed down in others, and the curve strengthened by the delicate use of a rasp.

The distinctive feature of the bust is the headdress with its cornucopia-like folds. This

1. The bust came to the Farnsworth Museum as the gift of Mrs. John T. Pratt, into whose collection it passed in 1917. Previously it had belonged to Baron Henri de St. Levée d'Aguerre, who had purchased it in Naples.

I wish to thank the Museum of Modern Art for permission to reproduce the photograph of the David by Verrocchio (Fig. 15), and the Smith College Museum of Art for the photograph of the *Madonna of the Candelabra* (Fig. 13). For a number of the other reproductions, photostats and photographs of uneven quality have been used because of the difficulty in securing photographs at this time.

2. Height: 18¼ inches; width: 22½ inches at the base.

3. The four knobs are now covered with gold leaf. Originally they may have been painted to represent pearls.

4. Along the lower edge of the bust the terracotta is broken in many places, and here and there patches of gesso and color are missing. Holes have been made in the sides, probably to fasten adornments offered by the faithful. From their positions it would seem that they were fitted for use in the support of necklaces, as may be seen at Loreto (A. Colasanti, *Loreto*, Bergamo, 1910, pp. 119–20). Cf. also the Madonna del Colle in the Collegiata, Pescocostanzo (E. Agostinoni, *Altipiani d'Abruzzo*, Bergamo, 1912,

p. 106). Angels bearing crowns, and metal glories are not uncommon additions to the statues of the Virgin in the Abruzzi, but they were usually fastened to the background.

Of the three openings in the back of the bust, the two small ones located in the head and neck were fitted with terracotta disks and concealed from view beneath the gesso and paint. The lower disk is now missing, and the hole has been closed with canvas. Both holes may have served as openings for cross-bars joining the inner and outer vertical rods of an armature. The lower one (2½ inches in diameter) alone may have been used for this purpose, or perhaps for a brace needed in setting up the completed work, while the upper one (3½ inches in diameter) may have been used simply for hollowing out the head. Since the latter hole is on the back of the head, not on the top, it could not have been made to accommodate the end of the vertical rod of an armature, as Wilm (*Gotische Tonplastik in Deutschland*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 20–21) suggests in the case of certain small German terracottas. Around the large opening in the shoulders (7 by 5¾ inches) is an area of exposed terracotta which, judging by the fibers imbedded in the gesso which edges it, was at one time covered with cloth.

FIG. 1. Wellesley College, Farnsworth Museum: Silvestro dell'Aquila (?), Bust of the Virgin, Terracotta

FIG. 2. Aquila, S. Bernardino: Silvestro dell'Aquila, Madonna (Detail of Fig. 5)

FIG. 6. Aquila, Museo Civico: Madonna, Stone

FIG. 7. Aquila, S. Maria di Collemaggio: Madonna, Terracotta

FIG. 5. Aquila, S. Bernardino: Silvestro dell'Aquila, Madonna, Terracotta

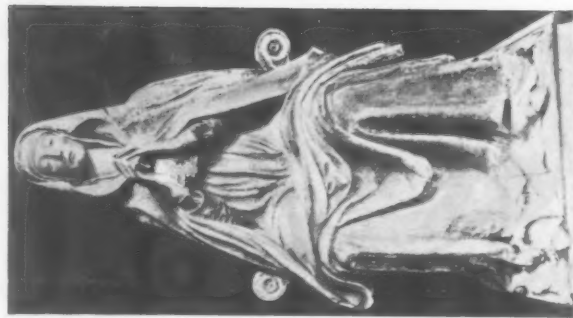FIG. 3. Teramo: S. Maria delle Grazie:Silvestrodell'Aquila(?), Madonna, Wood

FIG. 4. Chieti, S. Maria Mater Domini: Giovan Francesco Gagliardelli, Madonna, Wood

conventionalization of the ripples which usually soften the edge of the mantle about the face of the Virgin allies it with a group of seated Madonnas most of which are found in or near Aquila degli Abruzzi. Of these, perhaps the best, and the one bearing the earliest date, is the terracotta statue made during the last decade of the Quattrocento by Silvestro dell'Aquila (Figs. 2 and 5).[5] Whether he was the first to give plastic treatment to this detail which so caught the fancy of the Abruzzesi it is impossible to say, but his prestige and the presence of the statue in the most ostentatious church of the region, newly constructed to honor and to shelter the remains of the popular St. Bernardine of Siena,[6] would make this a reasonable conjecture.

In a brief essay written in 1915,[7] the Wellesley bust (Fig. 1) was attributed to Silvestro on the basis of the S. Bernardino Madonna (Figs. 2 and 5), but no hint was given that it might be a fragment of a similar statue. Yet everything about the bust, the inclination of the head, the downward gaze, the position of the shoulders, and the fall of the mantle over them, indicate an action that is completed outside the existing parts. The abnormal extension of the shoulders at the back, functionless in a bust, would serve a real purpose in balancing the weight of projecting knees in a full-length figure. The tender smile playing about the lips and the glint of humor in the eyes must have a cause. Furthermore, on the underside of the rim may be seen the curved ridges made by the string or wire used to cut through the wet clay dividing large figures into sections for convenience in firing and transportation.[8] It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the bust was originally part of a larger figure dislocated and partially destroyed, perhaps by one of the numerous earthquakes with which the Abruzzi has been cursed.[9]

In the majority of the statues referred to above, the Madonna is represented seated, her hands joined in worship above the Christ Child who rests on her knees in a reclining, or a playful, half-sitting position (Figs. 3, 5, and 7). At a time when humanistic thought was creating many changes in the traditional iconography, this variant of the Virgin who adores her Child but never caresses nor fondles Him seems to have been a popular substitute for the earlier hieratic type in those regions where provincialism or a distinguished medieval tradition made the taste conservative.[10] Countless Madonnas are witness to the popularity of this variant throughout the Abruzzi. It would be natural to assume that our figure followed the same pattern.

5. Payments for Silvestro's statue were made in 1494, 1499, and 1500 (A. Leosini, *Monumenti storici artistici della città di Aquila*, Aquila, 1848, p. 201. This notice was published in part by G. De Nicola, "Silvestro dell'Aquila," *L'arte*, XI, 1908, 11). For other dated Madonnas see below pp. 235, 236, 242, and notes 22, 26.

The quality of the other statues in this group differs materially, since a number represent crude peasant work of the region. Among the better examples are: the terracotta Madonna in S. M. di Collemaggio, Aquila (Fig. 7); the wooden one from S. M. Mater Domini, Chieti (Fig. 4); the terracotta Madonna from S. M. della Tomba, Sulmona (P. Piccirilli, "Notizie di Abruzzi-Molise," *L'arte*, XII, 1909, 71); the terracotta Madonna in S. M. del Ponte, Fontecchio (P. Piccirilli, "Su e giù per l'Abruzzi: S. M. del Ponte," *Pagine d'arte*, IV, 1916, 26).

6. St. Bernardine of Siena was canonized in 1450, six years after his death in Aquila. In 1472 the relics were translated to the church which had been begun in 1454. The consecration of the church did not take place until 1571. Cf. N. F. Faraglia, "La chiesa primitiva e il monastero di S. Bernardino nell'Aquila," *Rassegna pugliese*, XXVII, 1912, 20, 338, 340.

7. Germain Bapst, *Buste de Vierge en terre cuite poly chromée de Sylvestro d'Aquila*, Paris, 1915.

8. The Madonna in the church of S. M. della Tomba at Sulmona is in four pieces (Piccirilli, *L'arte*, XII, 1909, 22), the one by Gagliardelli now in the Museo Civico at Ripatransone is in several (C. Grigioni, "Due opere di Giovan Francesco Gagliardelli," *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, VIII, 1905, 181–85; idem., "L'arte di Giovan Francesco Gagliardelli," *Arte e storia*, XXIX, 1910, 1–2). The terracotta *Madonna with the Book*, in Berlin, was fired in two pieces (*Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1933, I, 110). The numerous jarrings which these statues have received frequently reveal the divisions: Fig. 5; *Arte e storia*, XXIX, 1910, fig. on p. 2: *Inventario, Provincia di Aquila*, Rome, 1934, fig. on p. 146; *Rassegna marchigiana*, IV, 1926, fig. on p. 508.

9. An especially severe one occurred in Aquila in 1703.

10. The type is rare at Florence, although not unknown; cf. Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, New Haven, 1938, p. 56. It is common in the painting of Murano, Umbria, the Marches, and other parts of central Italy.

To diminish the monotony of repetition in these figures, the sculptors altered the manner in which the arms were held. Three positions, subject to minor changes, may be distinguished. These are best illustrated by the Madonnas of S. Bernardino (Fig. 5),[11] of S. Maria Mater Domini, Chieti (Fig. 4),[12] and of S. Maria delle Grazie, Teramo (Fig. 3).[13] In the Wellesley bust, the slope of the Virgin's left shoulder, together with the two large folds starting low and crossing its contour line below the armpits, indicates that the upper arm remained close to the body, while the forearm was thrust forward or up. This would associate it with the Chieti type (Fig. 4). Disconcerting, then, is the generous curve of the opposite shoulder, which implies a large circling movement of the whole of her right arm. To ignore this implication, and to regard the change in shape of the two shoulders merely as the result of a natural desire for variety, is possible[14] but not entirely satisfactory, since in the design of the head our artist shows himself ready enough to exploit symmetry.[15] It may be necessary to seek the explanation in a small stone Madonna now in the collection of the Museo Civico at Aquila (Fig. 6). This statue has in common with the bust the composition of the shoulders and the disposition of the drapery over them.[16] These are here explained by the action of the arms: the Virgin's right arm curves in support of the Child seated upon her lap, the lower left arm extends forward, the fingers resting on the edge of a book supported upon her knee. Logically such action would entail the abrupt divorce and sideward pull of the mantle[17] from the body below the strap which is to be seen in the bust, but which has been partially ignored by the clumsy stonecutter.[18] Although the statue appears more hieratic in conception than the bust, largely because the head is held stiffly erect, this too must be attributed to want of dexterity in carving, rather than to intent, for the eyes are cast down. Other details which connect the two works are the prominent clavicle, the dimple in the chin, the crease in the upper eyelid, and the absence of the usual sideward droop of the head. Differences, though minor, exist; and considering the fragmentary state of the Wellesley terracotta, it would be rash to press the resemblance and say that it was the prototpye of the stone statue. But it happens that, aside from the similarities mentioned and the more important composition of the arms, all the distinguishing features of this statue—the broad-based triangular composition of the whole, the long complex fold swinging up from the right ankle to the left knee, breaking the usual M-formation between

11. The elbows extend out from the body, but the fore-arms are held close to the waist. The joined hands, which slant upward, start at right angles to the wrists. Usually only the wrists and hands show from underneath the drapery.

12. The upper arms are held close to the sides as far as the elbow. The whole of the fore-arm slants up; much of it is free of drapery. The joined hands are held rather high.

13. Almost the whole arm is held free from the body and exposed for the greater part of its length. The joined hands are held high.

14. Variety seems to have been the intention of the artist in the Madonna at Chieti, where a subtle asymmetry appears throughout the figure. Weight may be lent to such an interpretation by the Madonna from the church of Farno di Acquasanta, published by L. Serra ("Un'opera di Silvestro dall'Aquila nella chiesa di Farno di Acquasanta," *Rassegna marchigiana*, IV, 1926, 508), although it is difficult to tell from the illustration how much the movement differs in the two shoulders.

15. See below, p. 236.

16. The slanting folds of the mantle, caused by the movement of the Virgin's left arm, remain within the contour line on the stone Madonna (Fig. 6; compare Fig. 1). The arrangement found on the bust is much more natural,

but it was probably misunderstood by the stonecutter

17. That the sideward pull of the mantle may indicate a *Madonna della Misericordia* hardly seems possible, since the bust is so obviously allied with a large number of statues made in the same province and representing the Madonna and Child only. Popular as the subject was in Italy, in both painting and relief, the *Madonna della Misericordia* is rare in the round. Vera Sussmann ("Maria mit dem Schutzmantel," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, V, 1929, 348), whose lists are slightly longer than Perdrizet's (*La Vierge de Miséricorde*, Paris, 1908), gives but the one example, the statuette over the door of the vestibule of S. M. Novella in Rome. Two small wooden groups are found at Urbino and Varignano, cf. *Bollettino d'arte*, VIII, 1928–29, 496–97. De Nino ("La scultura figulina nell'Abruzzo," *Rivista abruzzese*, XIV, 1899, 61) speaks of a terracotta statue representing the *Madonna della Mercede* in Sant'Eufemia a Mailla, and goes on to describe the Madonna as seated with the hands joined in prayer, but he does not mention any subordinate figures.

18. Chini ("Pittori aquilani del 400," *Rassegna d'arte degli Abruzzi e del Molise*, I, 1912, 13) believes the hand of this stonecutter may be detected on the shrine of St. Bernardine (cf. note 75). Cf. also *Inventario, Aquila*, p. 52.

the legs, the trumpet folds cascading down the front of the left leg, the knotted girdle, the cherub brooch, as well as the headdress—may be found in the two Madonnas in Aquila, the one in S. Bernardino (Fig. 5), the other in S. Maria di Collemaggio (Fig. 7), with which the Wellesley bust has the closest stylistic affinities. Since the similarity in style would have made the statue of which the bust is a fragment equally attractive to the provincial stonecutter—and there is no proof that it was not equally accessible—it may be justifiable to conjecture that it served as one of several sources for the stone Madonna. This would not have been exceptional, for three models were recommended to Giovan Francesco Gagliardelli da Sant'Angelo in 1524 when he made the Madonna for the convent of S. Maria Magna at Ripatransone; and Saturnino dei Gatti, friend and younger contemporary of Silvestro, was asked to combine the merits of two existing works in his statue for Navelli.[19] The book in the hand of the Virgin is not common, but it is found occasionally on terracotta Madonnas,[20] and it had a certain popularity in the last half of the Quattrocento among Tuscan and Umbrian painters.[21]

These terracotta and wooden Madonnas were designed to grace niches either in the walls of chapels or in tabernacles[22] with carved or painted wings. That the Wellesley bust was so designed is evident from the open back and the unsightly bulge in the rear of the head and shoulders, which only a niche could conceal.

The stylistic relation of the bust to the Madonnas in S. Bernardino and S. Maria di Collemaggio is patent. Similarity of feature to the first (Fig. 2) is marked. In both heads the round, firm eyeballs press against lowered lids. A sickle-like curve outlines the opening through which the Virgin gazes at her Child. The nose, well rooted in the face, narrows to a slender ridge along its upper surface and ends in a delicate tip and finely modeled wings. The sensitive curve of the lips disappears into the same round recess producing its soft tassel of shadow. The furrow beneath the lower lip is deep and prepares for the protruding chin, which in the bust is graced by a dimple. But in the S. Bernardino Madonna, Silvestro had a care for the discipline of relief; the jaw-line flattens out to meet the veil, which with its overlapping folds fills the space between cheek and mantle. Everything is kept shallow. In the Wellesley bust the planes of the face turn sharply, the edge of the veil vanishes in the

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19. Cf. note 26. The contract with Gagliardelli was published by C. Grigioni, *Rassegna bibl. dell'arte it.*, VIII, 1905, 182–83.

20. E.g., the Madonna in S. Giustina, Padua, attributed to Minelli (Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, p. 164, fig. 175), Rizzo and others. In this statue the Virgin's right arm extends forward from the elbow; the fingers are spread out on an open book which rests on her knee. The same position of the right arm and hand is found on the *Enthroned Madonna with Two Angels* in Berlin. The appearance of this statue, judging by the illustrations (*Bildwerke des K.-F. Museums*, 2nd ed., I, 109) is rather disquieting; it should be noted, however, that the composition of the drapery over the legs resembles in a crude way that of the stone Madonna. Schottmüller associates the statue with the art of Bologna. She ascribes to a Master of the Marches the *Madonna with a Book* (*ibid.*, p. 110).

21. The influence of central Italian painting on the art of the Abruzzi, even on the sculpture of Silvestro, was persistent. Cf. below, p. 241. While usually depicting the book open, as in the terracottas mentioned in note 20, or half open with the Virgin's finger marking the place, these painters also represented it closed. Cf. the Madonna in the National Gallery, London, and the one in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, attributed to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (R. van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools*, The Hague, XIV, 1933, 180, 181), and the Virgin and Child in the Chiesa della Cona, Cave (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XV, 1934, 585).

22. Most of the tabernacles have disappeared, but an early fifteenth-century one with painted wings still exists in the parochial church of S. M. Assunta at Fossa (*Inventario, Aquila*, fig. on p. 148), and a late sixteenth-century example with carved panels exists in the parochial church of S. Felice Martire, Poggio Picenze (*ibid.*, fig. on p. 177). A wooden tabernacle is specified in Gagliardelli's contract for the Madonna of Ripatransone (cf. note 19). Niches were frequently faced with marble altarpieces, some of which were later additions, e.g. the *Altar of the Sacrament* by Sebastiano da Como made in 1532 for S. M. de'Lumi, Campli (I. C. Gavini, *Storia dell'architettura in Abruzzi*, Rome, 1927–28, II, 240, fig. 898). The Madonna in the niche bearing the date 1495, the exactness of which is suspect, the restoration date being 1595, was attributed to Blasuccio by Balzano. It belongs to the type and general style of the Madonna of S. Bernardino, but it has little community of style with the Madonna at Civitella del Tronto, the basis for Balzano's attribution (*L'arte*, XII, 1909, 186–87).

deep pockets of shadow. The folds of the mantle swell into large space-enclosing cones, whose volume is as distinctly felt as that of the smooth egg-shaped head. The solid mass of the shoulders is not lost within the mantle.[23] Edges are thicker. Symmetry is established by omitting the slight inclination of the head to the side, and the composition of head, veil, and mantle as worked out in the figure for S. Bernardino is stylized into a more formal pattern. This is evident in the ease with which one describes the head as egg-shaped, the face as heart-shaped, and the head-dress as bell-shaped. Yet this symmetry is already implicit in the conventionalization of the headdress. In the bust we have a new study of this formula, one in which pattern, solids, and voids have been exploited. In this respect the Madonna of S. Maria di Collemaggio (Fig. 7) stands between the S. Bernardino statue and the bust at Wellesley. Though it is similar in style and type to both, the shape and mass of the individual parts are given more emphasis than in the statue, e.g., the head and its covering form their own shape-unit distinct from that of the shoulders and arms (Fig. 5 and 7). Pattern is not stressed to the degree found in the bust, but the design tends in that direction. The thickness of the drapery makes each swell and hollow important. While this statue in the church of Collemaggio has been attributed to Silvestro by two scholars[24] who made detailed studies of his style, it can never be quite free from suspicion because of the notice recorded by Ciurci.[25] It may, as he relates, have been made in 1507, three years after Silvestro's death, though it is hard to believe that the hand of the *famoso artefice forestiero* was not one trained by Silvestro.[26]

23. A pattern of stars occurs on both mantles. The use of the star appliquéed or incised, as an all-over ornament for the Virgin's garments, was popular throughout the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and is found on many of these statues (*Inventario*, Aquila, figs. on pp. 86, 103, 104). Though it is often assumed that these decorations are later additions (note the star applied to the halo from which the Child's head has slipped on the statue in S. Bernardino [Fig. 5]), some of them must be restorations, for the motive exists in contemporary painting, cf. Saturnino dei Gatti's *Madonna of the Rosary* in S. Pietro in Coppito, Aquila (L. Serra, *Aquila*, Bergamo, 1929, p. 103). Possibly its popularity in the region can be traced to the miracle of the star which took place on the piazza of S. M. di Collemaggio in the time of St. Bernardine and which was recalled in a famous sermon by Frat'Angelo di Monte Oliveto in April, 1507 (Leosini, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–30). The mantle of the Madonna of S. Bernardino is blue. A gold mantle such as is seen on the Wellesley bust is not unusual and may be found on the Madonna at Civitella del Tronto and on the one in S. M. del Ponte at Fontecchio.

24. De Nicola, *L'arte*, XI, 1908, 15; A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, Milan, VI, 1908, 630; Serra (*Aquila*, 1929, pp. 77–80) appears to agree also.

25. Ciurci's statement is quoted by Leosini, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–30. Cf. also De Nicola, *L'arte*, XI, 1908, 15; Balzano, *L'arte*, XII, 1909, 183; M. Chini, *Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, II, 1913, 44–46.

26. Balzano (*L'arte*, XII, 1909, 183) ascribed the statue in S. Maria di Collemaggio (Fig. 7) to Giovan Francesco Gagliardelli, who was the author of the Madonna in S. M. Mater Domini, Chieti (Fig. 4), if this Madonna can be identified with the one he made for that city, which was referred to in the contract for his Madonna for Ripatransone (cf. note 19). The latter figure is distinctly inferior to the one at Chieti, but it possesses many stylistic similarities, such as the long oval face, the slightly sunken cheeks, the high relief of the eyeball along a vertical median line, the sharp contouring of the small protruding lips, the unusual length from waist to hips, and the narrowness of

the figure through hips and base. On the other hand, the frequently noted similarity of the Madonna in the Church of Collemaggio to the Madonna at Chieti is one of type rather than style (note the position of the arms) and affords no real foundation for attribution. Chini (*Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, II, 1913, 40–46) believes that Ciurci's source referred to a statue destroyed in the earthquake of 1703 and assigns the Collemaggio Madonna to Saturnino dei Gatti di San Vittorino. Chini's basis (cf. also "Documenti relativi ai pittori che operarono in Aquila, fra il 1450 e il 1550 circa," *Bullettino della Regia-Deputazione abruzzese*, VIII, 1927, 91) is a note made by Antinori summarizing a document which referred to a terracotta Madonna, now lost, that Saturnino made and painted in Navelli, *somiglianzo della fatta Collemaggio con ornamento come di altra nella Chiesa di San Bernardino*. Because of Antinori's usual accuracy, Chini thinks that the original source read: *promisit facere quandam ymaginem ad similitudinum ymaginis facte per ipsum magistrum in ecclesia Santa Marie Collemadii*. Evidence so fragile cannot be accepted without reservation when stylistic data is lacking.

Saturnino dei Gatti di San Vittorino was more frequently employed as a painter than as a sculptor (*Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, I, 1912, 13, 123; II, 1913, 10, 96; *Bullettino d. R-Deput. abr.*, VIII, 1927, 70 ff., 90; Serra, *Aquila*, 1929, p. 85, 99; van Marle, *op. cit.*, XV, 217–23). But in 1518 he was asked to make a figure of St. Sebastian like the one by Silvestro originally in S. M. del Soccorso (Fig. 16). He seems to have died before this was carried out, and the awkward statue now in S. Benedetto is not by his hand (*Inventario*, Aquila, fig. on p. 15). Six years earlier, however, he modeled a Madonna and a St. Anthony for S. M. del Ponte in Fontecchio (Leosini, *op. cit.*, p. 60), which probably can be identified with the ones now in the church. Unfortunately, the only illustrations procurable at this time (*Pagine d'arte*, IV, 1916, 26; Gavini, *op. cit.*, II, 295, fig. 902) are too indistinct to furnish evidence for a convincing attribution, either as regards the Madonna of Collemaggio or the Wellesley bust. In respect to the latter, the description of the Madonna for Navelli in Antinori's

The Wellesley bust may be connected with other monuments. On the Camponeschi tomb (Figs. 10 and 12), whose traditional attribution to Silvestro has rarely been questioned,[27] can be duplicated the crumpled plaits of the veil with long grooves ending square or with a fish-tail, the bulk of the folds, and even the mass of body forms, which is a question of degree rather than of kind. On the shrine of St. Bernardine, with which Silvestro was occupied at the time of his death, can be seen an increased tendency to turn the planes in depth rather than to flatten them against the background (Fig. 19)—if one can argue from those figures which suggest his models,[28] for none seem to reveal his chisel. Thus it would appear that if the bust was not made by Silvestro's own hand, it cannot have been fashioned far from his shop.

Whether the bust is by Silvestro or a follower, his art was the determining factor in its creation, and for that reason demands consideration, especially as Silvestro's style, because of his eclecticism, has been partly misunderstood. The importance of some of his sources has been magnified, while that of others has been minimized.

* * *

From about 1471 until his death in 1504, Silvestro[29] was the leading artist in the city of Aquila. Most of the important commissions fell to his hand, but while many of these works have disappeared,[30] it is not difficult to follow his development in those that remain. Although it has been reasonably assumed that Silvestro's knowledge of Florentine art came by way of Naples and Rome, there are too many references to Florentine monuments in his work for us to think that he had not spent some time in that city. Oddly enough for one of Silvestro's temperament, it was Desiderio who seems to have impressed him first. For the monument erected to the memory of Amico Agnifili (Fig. 9)[31] in the cathedral

transcription opens up a possibility worth exploring, since the bust is so closely connected with both of the statues mentioned in it. It is especially regrettable that the Madonna in S. M. del Ponte cannot be used as a proper check, for even in the poor reproductions it can be seen that it follows the S. Bernardino type, but the curves of the broad shoulders are not disguised by drapery and the head is smoothly covered by the mantle. Saturnino displays in his painting, also, a fondness for tapering faces and sleek heads (cf. *Madonna of the Rosary*, Serra, *Aquila*, 1929, p. 103; frescoes in S. Panfilo, Tornimparte, van Marle, *op. cit.*, XV, 218, 219), which are characteristics of the fragment at Wellesley.

27. Faraglia (*Rassegna pugliese*, XXVII, 1912, 34; *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, VIII, 1883, 278) questions this. It seems very difficult to believe that the artist who modeled the Madonna of S. Bernardino did not carve the figure of Maria Pereira (Figs. 2 and 12).

28. E.g. the Sts. Francis, Bonaventura, and Catherine. Cf. note 75. For the change in the manipulation of the planes, compare the modeling of the face and the treatment of the drapery around the ankles of the St. Francis with that of the same saint on the Camponeschi tomb (Figs. 10 and 19).

29. He was probably the son of the goldsmith Giacomo di Paolo da Sulmona who was residing in Aquila by 1467. Silvestro is first mentioned in 1471 (he cannot be identified with Silvestro dell' Aquila, the goldsmith, who was in Florence in 1439–40), at which time he had a shop with a Giovanni Biasuccio (Chini, *Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, I, 1912, 11–12). Cf. below, p. 242. The place of Silvestro's birth, the problem of the two Silvestros and the use of d'Arischia after Silvestro's name, about which the older writers were so much concerned, has been reasonably ex-

plained and solved by M. Chini, "Silvestro d'Aquila o Silvestro d'Arischia?," *Convegno storico abruzzese-molisano*, *Aquila*, 1931, *Atti e memorie*, II, 521–29.

It has been a handicap not to be able to consult at this time M. Chini, *Silvestro di Giacomo da Sulmona, cittadino aquilano*, Aquila, 1911, and G. Pansa, *Silvestro da Sulmona detto l'Ariscola*, *Notizie e documenti*, Lanciano, 1894.

30. A St. James with a tabernacle *storiato de storiis spectantibus et pertinentibus ad dictam ymaginem* for Tornimparte, 1476; for S. Biagio a "Battistero" with various figures, which was, perhaps, a baldacchino for a font, 1477; a tabernacle for the St. Sebastian, 1478; the painted decoration of a chapel in the Duomo for the Lombard colony; perhaps the wooden Madonna for Ancarano, 1490, see below, p. 241. Cf. Chini, *Bullettino d. R-Deput. abr.*, XVIII, 1927, 55, 56, 57; documents are also published by Leosini, *op. cit.*, p. 132; De Nicola, *L'arte*, XI, 1908, 10. By the older writers he is credited with a "gran diavolo" on the façade of the Duomo of Orvieto, and with work on the Porto Nuovo at Naples. The latter is probably due to a confusion of Silvestro with Andrea dell'Aquila.

31. Amico Agnifili became bishop of Aquila in 1431. He was tutor of Paul II and was raised to the purple by this pope in 1467. His tomb was started in 1476, the year of his death (L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., St. Louis, 1913, IV, 66, 112, 199). In the contract of September 15, 1476, between Silvestro and the *impresario* of marble, is given a detailed description of this tomb which was partially destroyed by the earthquake of 1703. Only the figure of the deceased, the bier, sarcophagus, and base with putti and *stemma* remain. These, for many years forgotten in the cemetery, were set up in 1887. The lower base in use at present is the work of a later period (De Nicola, *L'arte*, XI, 1908, 4–8).

church of S. Massimo, the Marsuppini tomb (Fig. 8) served as the model. Most of the ornament[32] has been inspired by Desiderio, but it is timidly applied and further weakened in effect by the heavy forms it decorates. The vivacity and sparkle of the original is lacking. In fact the only time Silvestro succeeded in achieving the superficial effect of a Florentine work was in the relief, now over the side door of S. Marciano (Fig. 11), which originally may have formed part of this tomb.[33] The Marsuppini tondo constituted the primary inspiration for the Madonna and Child in this lunette, but not the only one. In the position of the upper part of the Virgin's body, and in the fall of the veil on her shoulders, there is a subtle reference to the *Madonna of the Candelabra* (Fig. 13).[34] One of the numerous stuccos of this popular relief was probably in the city, for it served as a model for another work.[35] The sobriety of effect and the height of the relief might suggest that Silvestro had Antonio Rossellino's style in mind, but a careful study of the drapery reveals that he is imitating Desiderio's unpressed pleatings with broken edges. In Desiderio's manner, also, the flanking cherubs cross one pair of wings behind their heads.[36]

Combined with the Florentine characteristics of the Agnifili tomb were Lombard features, saints in niches set in the pilasters, which now have disappeared.[37] These may have been included at the demand of the Cardinal's heirs, who fancied a tomb resembling those being constructed in Rome to honor other members of the papal court. But Aquila had not escaped the ubiquitous Lombard. The commerce in wool, silk, and saffron had brought large numbers of Milanese to the city; and along with the Florentines, the Venetians, and the Germans,[38] they had established a colony there. But it was probably the tremor of the *terremoto* and the rumble of falling stone, never long absent, that brought the Lombard

32. Venturi (*op. cit.*, vi, 627–28) believes that the ornament represents Roman modification of Florentine forms, but no extant Roman monument of the period copies the Florentine as exactly as we find it here on the cover of the sarcophagus, the bier, and the bier-cloth. The knotty garland about the coat of arms is, to be sure, more characteristic of Roman ornament than Florentine; cf. the Lebretto tomb of 1465 (Venturi, *op. cit.*, vi, 940–41, figs. 634, 635). Silvestro may have known both, since there is no reason to believe that he had not been in Rome. Evidence for a Roman visit, however, is not to be sought in the tomb for the Cardinal Del Monte, in which Venturi sees a connection with Silvestro's work. On this point cf. G. S. Davies, *Renaissance Tombs of Rome*, New York, 1916, p. 358.

33. The contract mentioned above (note 31) specified a Madonna and Child. Chini (*Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, I, 1912, 121) declares that the measurements given correspond closely to those of the lunette of S. Marciano. The relief could easily have been carried to this church and immured some time after the earthquake. The style of the figures is close enough to that of the putti on the base to belong to the same monument: cf. the hair, the manner in which the eyelids clasp the eyeballs, the straight ends of the mouth, and the fluted feathers of the wings. If the lunette did not serve the tomb originally, it must have been made at about the same time.

34. This relief exists now only in works made after it: numerous stuccos, an inferior marble tabernacle in the Calle della Pietà, Venice, a *cartapesta* relief in the Museo Correr, and a bronze Pax. Cf. also the upper part of the seated Madonna in the large polyptych in S. Croce, Sassoferrato (van Marle, *op. cit.*, xv, 125, fig. 81). Although the relief is usually attributed to Rossellino or his circle, Schottmüller (*Bildwerke d. K.-F. Museums*, 2nd ed., I, 55) suggested as its author someone influenced by the Master

of the Marble Madonnas whom, following De Nicola, she identified with Tommaso Fiamberti. For an identification of the same artist with Giovanni Ricci, cf. Jolanda Balogh, "Uno sconosciuto scultore italiano presso il Re Mattia Corvino," *Rivista d'arte*, v, 1933, 273 ff. It seems improbable that the example of this minor master could have inspired a sculptor capable of the naturalism in expression, pose, and disposition of drapery found in the best of these stuccos of the *Madonna of the Candelabra*.

35. Lunette of the *Altar of the Madonna* in S. M. del Soccorso (Serra, *Aquila*, figs. on pp. 71, 72). The involved problem of the date of this lunette will be discussed elsewhere.

36. In Rossellino's work a pair of wings is frequently crossed beneath the chin of a cherub but rarely behind the head. Cf. tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato, Florence; the altarpiece of the Nativity, Monteoliveto, Naples; the Nori Madonna in S. Croce, Florence. In the relief of the Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum, the wings of the cherubs do not quite cross.

37. These figures, also mentioned in the contract (cf. note 31), were Sts. George and Massimo, patron saints of the Cathedral. A statue of S. Massimo which is walled in near the door of the sacristy has been considered to be one of the missing statues. I agree with Serra (*Aquila*, 1929, p. 76) in thinking it too coarse. It may, however, be a copy by another hand.

38. At least one German sculptor was active in the city early in the century. The tomb of Ludovico Camponeschi (1432) in S. Giuseppe is believed to have been made by Gualterius da Alemania, who signed the Caldora tomb in Badia Morronese, Sulmona. He was also author of the destroyed tomb of Gaglioffi in San Domenico, Aquila, according to Crispo Monti (quoted by Leosini, *op. cit.*, p. 58). Cf. also Venturi, *op. cit.*, vi, 63, 65; I. C. Gavini, *op. cit.*, ii, 155–58, figs. 710, 711; Serra, *Aquila*, 1929, p. 48, 50, 51.

FIG. 10. Aquila, S. Bernardino: Silvestro dell'Aquila, Tomb of Maria Pereira and her Daughter Barbara Camponeschi

FIG. 9. Aquila, S. Massimo: Silvestro dell'Aquila, Tomb of Cardinal Agnifili

FIG. 8. Florence, S. Croce: Desiderio da Settignano, Tomb of Carlo Marsuppini

FIG. 11. Aquila, S. Marciano: Silvestro dell'Aquila, Lunette, Virgin and Child

FIG. 12. Aquila, S. Bernardino: Detail of Fig. 10, Maria Pereira

FIG. 13. Northampton, Smith College Museum of Art: Madonna of the Candelabra, Stucco

FIG. 14. Florence, Or San Michele: Verrocchio, Christ and St. Thomas, Bronze (Detail)

stone mason and stonecutter, and made him a permanent fixture.[39] Quite aside from this cause, the second half of the fifteenth century saw exceptional building activity in the city. Religious fervor aroused by the preaching of St. Bernardine spent itself in the erection of new churches and the redecoration of old ones. Once the second city in southern Italy, Aquila had passed the peak of her prosperity, but money accumulated in more propitious times was being freely given by loyal citizens. Lombard influence increased toward the end of the century, particularly that which came by way of Rome. It is not surprising, then, that in the double tomb for Beatrice Camponeschi and her mother Maria Pereira (Fig. 10),[40] executed largely in the last decade, the clusters of fruit and leaves with ribbon-bound stems on the face of the arch, and the candelabrum above, are the only remaining individual features taken from the Marsuppini tomb (Fig. 8). Silvestro has substituted on the sarcophagus a frank copy of the sepulchral ornament of the Bregno school.[41] Saints in niches[42] appear again, combined with the inevitable coat of arms. Despite the extraordinary admiration they won from the Aquilani, the little shield-bearers[43] wedged in between lion's paws and frame are intrusive and were probably added at the insistence of the Countess, impressed by the melancholy putti on the tomb of Maria of Aragon recently set up in the richly appointed chapel in Naples. These, carved by Benedetto da Maiano[44] and his shop after Rossellino's models, appear closer to the copies in Aquila than do their prototypes on the tomb in S. Miniato which Silvestro undoubtedly saw during his sojourn in Florence.

Silvestro's connection with Rossellino was casual, and in no sense can he be called a follower.[45] His *St. Sebastian* in wood (Fig. 16), an early work (1478),[46] often compared with Rossellino's marble at Empoli (Fig. 17),[47] has very little in common with it, as a study of the anatomy and pose reveals. Silvestro exhibits a better understanding of the structure of bone and muscle. He is at some pains to describe the shoulder girdle, the meeting of clavicle

39. The marble cutter who provided the stone for the Agnifili tomb was Giovanni di Lancillotto da Milano, perhaps the same man who worked (1453) on the Ponte Sant'Angelo at Rome (De Nicola, *L'arte*, xi, 1908, 1, 4). He is probably the son of the Lancillotto called *magistro della cava* in the records relating to the construction of S. Bernardino.   Many Lombards are mentioned in these records (Faraglia, *Rassegna pugliese*, xxvii, 1912, 20 ff. Cf. Chini, *Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, i, 1912, 10 for references to other Lombard artists). Giovanni de'Rettorii da Milano made the baptismal font given by Cardinal Agnifili to the church of S. Massimo.

40. Originally in a chapel of its own in S. Bernardino, the tomb now is attached to a wall of the presbytery. Although the figure of the mother is given the most important place, we learn from the inscription that the tomb was erected by Maria Pereira to her daughter. The tomb was under construction in 1496, for in that year the Countess appointed a superintendent to oversee the work (Leosini, *op. cit.*, p. 212), and it had probably been started some years before. The child could not have died later than November 1491, since she was but fifteen months old at the time of her death and her father, Pietro Lalle Camponeschi, Count of Montorio, had died in October, 1489 (U. Speranza, "Il regesto e la storia del Monastero di S. Basilio in Aquila compilato dell'Antinorio," *Bullettino d. R-Deput. abr.*, xiv, 1933, 111. Cf. also B. Cirilli, *Annali della città dell'Aquila*, Rome, 1570, p. 85). Maria Pereira belonged to the Spanish royal house and was educated at the court of Naples. She returned to Naples after the death of her husband. This is probably why Chini believed that the tomb in Aquila was started in the year before, i.e., 1488. Her daughter Victoria married into the Carafa family

and became the mother of Paul IV (V. Bindi, *Monumenti storici ed artistici degli Abruzzi*, Naples, 1833, 1, 803).

41. Garlands that look like triple strands of graduated beads, and cherub heads with expressionless faces wearing their wings like bibs, as well as the floral scroll ornament seen on the lower part of the monument are common to Roman tombs and altarpieces. Cf. the tomb of Filippo de Levis (d. 1475) in S. M. Maggiore; the tomb of Pietro Riario in SS. Apostoli, 1474–77 (Mino's influence is seen in putti and sphinxes on the sarcophagus but not in the garlands); the tombs of Guglielmo Rocca (d. 1482) and Giovanni della Rovere (d. 1483) in S. M. del Popolo (Davies, *op. cit.*, figs. 28, 38, 37, 44).

42. Serra (*Aquila*, 1929, pp. 76–77) believes that the proportions of the niches and the drapery of St. Francis depend on the Lebretto tomb by Bregno in S. Maria in Aracoeli (Venturi, *op. cit.*, vi, figs. 634, 635).

43. Cf. De Nicola, *L'arte*, xi, 1908, 13; Chini, *Convegno, 1931, Atti e memorie*, ii, 529.

44. Venturi, *op. cit.*, vi, figs. 415, 416. The putto on the left of the sarcophagus may be by Benedetto himself. The one on the right is certainly by an assistant. I can find no evidence of Rossellino's chisel on any part of this tomb.

45. Venturi, *op. cit.*, vi, 626; Grigioni, *Arte e storia*, xxix, 1910, 1–2.

46. Chini, *Bullettino d. R-Deput. abr.*, viii, 1927, 56. The document as preserved in the mss of Agnifili is also published by Leosini and De Nicola.

47. Though calling Silvestro a follower of A. Rossellino, Venturi (*op. cit.*, vi, 628), notes the more muscular form of the latter's statue. Serra (*Aquila*, 1929, p. 76) mentions the difference in pose, but regards the Empoli figure as the prototype; cf. also *Inventario, Aquila*, 1934, p. 51.

and scapula, and the attendant muscles. In the torso the emphasis on the *rectus abdominis* and surrounding knobby frame of the ribs which Rossellino took over from the Donatello tradition, where it assumes a beetle-like pattern,[48] is almost entirely lacking. Likewise in the knees, the indications of the band of Richter cutting across the *vastus internus*, and the detailed modeling below the kneecap display a more accurate knowledge.

The distinguishing feature of Rossellino's figure[49] is the peculiar *contrapposto*, an adaptation of that in Pollaiuolo's *St. Sebastian* of 1475. Exaggerated and unresolved though it is, the twist in Rossellino's statue contributes to the expression of physical suffering over which the spirit is triumphing. There is little of this in Silvestro's figure. It, too, lacks balance, but the instability does not serve expression. In this it belongs to the type popular in central Italy,[50] which culminated some years later in Perugino's pathetic youths, a type which it resembles in such physical characteristics as the smooth modeling of the long firm torso, the marked V at the throat, the protruding collar-bone, and the loin cloth.[51] But also inherent in this wooden figure are an energy and a tension characteristic of a high-spirited animal, and deeply Florentine. The vitality and elegance bespeak an acquaintance with Verrocchio's *David* (Fig. 15), for which additional evidence appears in the hair. The upward fling of the head may recall the garland-bearing youths of Desiderio (Fig. 8), and the long rectangle of the face, the bust of St. John in Berlin,[52] but the hair is totally different. Not only does it follow that of the Verrocchio bronze in the way it frames the face,[53] and curves back of the neck, but also in the individual units. To the right of the center parting is the same tripartite lock that curls back from *David's* hair-line, while on the left tossed up to match is the hooked lock which falls down on *David's* forehead. The heavy looping strands below, tightly curled at their ends, are in general similar to those of the *David*, but they imitate in fibre and follow in pattern almost tress for tress those edging the face of the Christ (Fig. 14) with St. Thomas at Or San Michele.[54] While the exactness with which Silvestro reproduced the hair is hard to explain unless he actually had been in the shop of Verrocchio —and his anatomical accuracy so far in advance of Rossellino lends weight to this supposition—he cannot have been there long, for his borrowings are discreet. This union of the

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48. This pattern is most noticeable in the bronze Christ at Padua, but cf. also in the wooden crucifix of S. Croce and the bronze *David* (*Donatello, Klassiker der Kunst*, pls. 97, 20, 34).

49. The fact that Rossellino's *St. Sebastian* is completed by a tabernacle and that Silvestro's contract specified a tabernacle cannot be construed as evidence of Rossellino's influence, because the tabernacle was a much more common adjunct of an Abruzzese statue than a Florentine one. Cf. note 22.

50. Cf. D. von Hadeln, *Die wichtigsten Darstellungsformen des H. Sebastian*, Strassburg, 1906.

51. The representations of St. Sebastian of Umbro-Marchigian origin showing Paduan-Venetian influence, which Gèza de Francovich published (*Bollettino d'arte*, VIII, 1928–29, 481 ff.) do not have the long smooth torso, but a number of them have the draw-string loin-cloth. This type of loin-cloth, in common use in Umbria, appears also in the north: e.g. on the thieves in Mantegna's predella for the S. Zeno altarpiece (1456–59), and on Antonello's *St. Sebastian*, now at Dresden (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XV, 523). Benozzo Gozzoli used it on his St. Sebastians at Montefalco (1452) and in the Collegiata, San Gimignano. Piero had represented it on his saint on the Misericordia Altarpiece (1445–63) at Sansepolcro (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 1929, 71). It also appears on such derivatives of these examples as the *St. Sebastian* in Palazzo Venezia, Rome (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XV, 253; cf. also 294), and the numerous representations of this saint by Niccolo da Foligno (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XIV, 45, 46, 55, 86).

In photographs taken before the restoration of Silvestro's figure by Professor Colorieti-Torti, the top of the drawstring loin-cloth may be seen above the sash loin-cloth which covered it then (Venturi, *op. cit.*, VI, 629).

52. This bust, often attributed to Donatello, is much more closely related to the art of Desiderio than to that of his master. H. Kauffmann (*Donatello*, Berlin, 1935, note 478) attributes it to Desiderio outright.

53. Silvestro has not preserved the effect of "bushiness" which is found in the locks of *David* and in the group of Della Robbia heads of boys which Valentiner ("Leonardo as Verrocchio's Co-Worker," *Art Bulletin*, XII, 1930, 86) believes were inspired by the David.

54. The two short, flat curving locks seen at either side of the center parting of the hair of the Christ reappear clinging to the forehead of Silvestro's *St. Sebastian* just under the two locks flung upward (Figs. 14, 16). The looping lock ending in a tight curl is found in paintings of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo accompanied by other evidence of Verrocchio's influence, e.g. on the two youthful kneeling shepherds in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* at Perugia; *St. Sebastian*, Perugia (van Marle, XIV, 173–75); and on the Verrocchian *St. Sebastian* of 1478 at Cerqueto by Perugino (van Marle, XIV, 320, fig. 201). It is interesting that both Silvestro's and Perugino's figures made in the same year combine Umbrian and Verrocchian features, but in different ways. A stylized representation of these locks occurs on the bust of St. John at Urbino, attributed to Francesco di Simone by Toesca (*Bollettino d'arte*, I, 1921, 154–55).

FIG. 15. Florence, Museo Nazionale: Verrocchio, David, Bronze

FIG. 16. Aquila, Museo Civico: Silvestro dell'Aquila, St. Sebastian, Wood

FIG. 17. Empoli, Collegiata: Antonio Rossellino, St. Sebastian, Marble

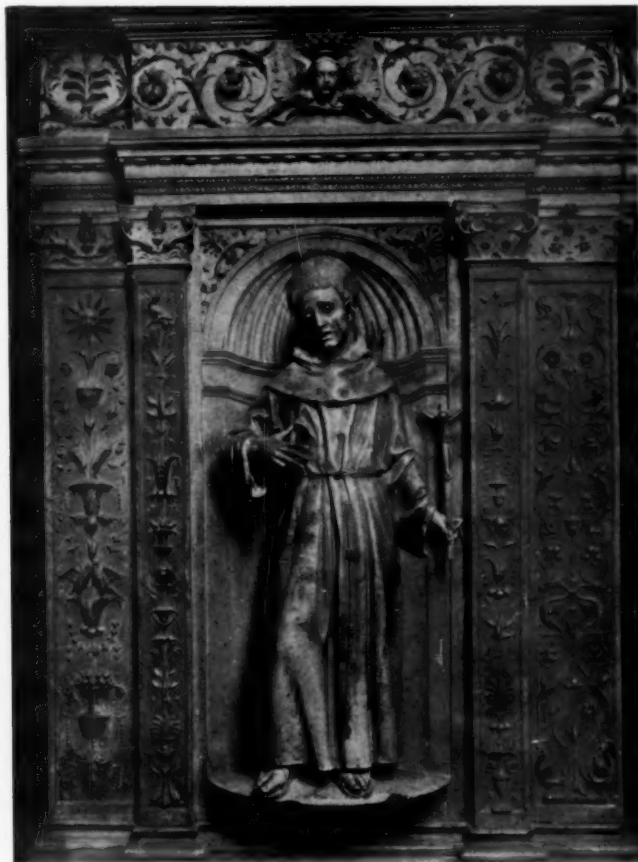FIG. 18. Aquila, S. Bernardino: Detail of Fig. 10, St. John Baptist

FIG. 19. Aquila, S. Bernardino: Shrine of St. Bernardine, St. Francis (Detail)

influence of Desiderio and Verrocchio is not surprising in one who may have been in Florence at the end of the 'sixties,[55] for there are other instances of it. In fact, in Verrocchio's own early work the impress of Desiderio's art is so strong that Thiis[56] considered him his pupil. A later example of Verrocchio's influence is found in the St. John Baptist (Fig. 18) in the lower right-hand niche of the Camponeschi tomb. Similar locks appear, but they fall to the shoulders, as in the Christ at Or San Michele, and they are accompanied by other Verrocchian characteristics, such as the deep-set eyes, the high cheek-bones with rounded hollows beneath,[57] and the short, forked beard, as well as the pose with bent knee thrust far forward and covered by drapery arranged in four great folds, the two upper ones breaking into V's between the legs, the lowest one sweeping up to the wrist in a long shallow curve. This drapery formula taken from the St. Thomas had been popularized in Umbria and Rome by Perugino, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and Signorelli. In central Italy it frequently converged with the similar pattern stemming directly from Piero della Francesca.[58] The loop of drapery over the left shoulder,[59] the fall of the material on that side, and the gesture of the right hand suggest familiarity with this fusion.

Further evidence of the influence of central Italian painting on the Camponeschi tomb appears in the figures of St. Mary Magdalene and of St. Catherine (Fig. 10), who wear the heavy round-necked mantles with edges stiff as felt, found on Piero's *Virgin of the Annunciation* in S. Francesco at Arezzo.[60] The deep thin-ridged folds of the garment of St. Catherine recall the formulas of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo which also possess Verrocchian traits. While the catholicity of taste represented here is due in part, no doubt, to the aid of assistants in Silvestro's large *bottega*,[61] borrowing from paintings is not surprising, since he was himself a painter[62] and a friend of painters. All his work in this medium has disappeared, but we know that late Quattrocento painting in Aquila was exceptionally eclectic, and that traces of almost all the strains that made up the angular mannered style of central Italy were present in it. Only at the end of the century did the mature style of Perugino rear its languid head.

The wooden figure of the Virgin in the church of the Madonna della Pace in Ancarano[63] appears to be subject to the same influences and is connected by many details of costume and style with the figures on the Camponeschi tomb. The short headdress pitted with eyefolds where it rests on the shoulders is similar to the kerchief covering the head of Maria Pereira (Fig. 12); the tight bodice attached to a full-gathered skirt and the mantle may be dupli-

55. It is to be assumed that Silvestro was in Florence prior to his partnership with Giovanni Biasuccio (1471). Since no known document records his activity between 1471 and 1476, he may have been in Florence at some time during those years. The *David* has been dated anywhere from 1465 (Cruttwell) to 1476, the year it was ceded to the state by Lorenzo and Giuliano dei Medici. The *Christ and St. Thomas*, probably begun by 1467, was not set up in St. Louis' niche until 1483, but most of the work is thought to have been done between 1476 and 1480, because of the frequency of the payments during those years. Metal was weighed for the casting in 1470, which would indicate that a model had been made by that time, although not necessarily the one displayed in 1482 (G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Florence, 1839, I, 370; M. Cruttwell, *Verrocchio*, London, 1904, pp. 161–62). It was in the form of a model that Silvestro probably saw the head of Christ. The earlier terracotta Christ on the relief of the Resurrection, while similar in feature to the bronze figure, differs in the treatment of the hair.

56. *Leonardo da Vinci: The Florentine Years of Leonardo and Verrocchio*, London, 1914, I.

57. Desiderio also employs high cheek-bones, but his representation differs from Verrocchio's in two ways: the hollow under the cheek-bone is not as pronounced, and the line running from the flange of the nose to the corner of the mouth is emphasized far more. Cf. the *Pietà* under the S. Lorenzo shrine, and the garland-bearing youths on the Marsuppini tomb. Verrocchio's faces tend to be broader through eyes and cheek-bones, the jaw sometimes squarer, but they taper more rapidly to a small pointed chin. With Desiderio, the chin is square, preserving the long rectangle of the face. In Silvestro's figure of St. John Baptist (Fig. 18), and in the figure of the Magdalene on the same tomb, (Fig. 10), the square chin is retained, but the angles are more rounded than in Desiderio's figures.

58. Cf. the figure of St. John Baptist on Piero's altarpiece in Borgo San Sepolcro (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 23, 71).

59. This detail is especially common in the work of Pintoricchio, Perugino, and their followers (cf. van Marle, *op. cit.*, XIV, 163, 318, 326, 335).

60. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, XI, 39. Cf. also the *Annunziata* on the altarpiece at Perugia, *ibid.*, 77–79.

61. Chini, *Convegno*, 1931, *Atti e memorie*, II, 526.

62. Cf. Chini, *Bullettino d. R-Deput. abr.*, VIII, 1927, 57 ff.; idem., *Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, I, 1912, 116–17.

63. Illustrated, so far as I know, only in *L'arte*, XII, 184.

cated on St. Mary Magdalene; while the deep narrow folds over the knees, though falling more limply, resemble those of the garments of St. John and St. Catherine. Whether this Madonna is the statue which Silvestro made for this village in accordance with the commission given him in 1490,[64] or only a copy, as one local tradition has it[65]—and these similarities to contemporary work suggest an accurate copy at least—it bears only the most general resemblance to the Madonna in Civitella del Tronto, which seems to be the one that the contract designates as model.[66] The Gothic mannerisms of this figure would not have been congenial to Silvestro, but had he wished he could have adopted the essential features of its composition, with which he must have been long familiar. For the author of the statue, as given in the document, was Giovanni Blasuccio, frequently and probably correctly identified with the Giovanni Biasuccio with whom Silvestro had a shop in 1471. Perhaps the reason for Silvestro's eschewal of this model by his old partner is that he had already worked that vein, for the beautiful Madonna of Teramo (Fig. 3) is a graceful and simplified statement of all that is individual in the figure at Civitella del Tronto. The particular conservative formula for the arrangement of the mantle over the head and shoulders has been given a fresh and charming interpretation, revealing a marked love of pattern. The prominent hands, the arms held high and exposed far above the elbow where the cloak slides away from them, are a free translation of the loosely-held arms and large hands of Giovanni's figure.

The Madonna of Teramo was by tradition associated with Silvestro's name, but more recently has been assigned to Gagliardelli.[67] That the tradition may have validity becomes apparent when comparisons are made with the *St. Sebastian* (Fig. 16), which the statue resembles in the proportions of the head, the features, in particular the squared eyebrows, the thin, carefully-shaped lips, and the modeling of the throat. Like the *St. Sebastian*, it possesses a strong Florentine flavor, which when analyzed appears to be due to the costume[68] and the spirited movement and expression. Other features such as the graceful logic of the drapery over the legs, the trumpet fold, the plump Child placed diagonally across His mother's knees, the head nestled against her arm, are not unusual in Silvestro's work. If by him, this Madonna,[69] also of wood, was probably carved not many years after the *St. Sebastian*, at a time when he might still be expected to profit by the example of Biasuccio, and when his Florentine connections had been lately renewed by a partnership with

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64. De Nicola, *L'arte*, XI, 1908, 10–11; Balzano, *L'arte*, XII, 1909, 184.

65. A tradition that the present statue is a copy by one Acqua is mentioned by Balzano (*L'arte*, XII, 1909, 185, note 1). De Nicola and Venturi accepted this statue as the original.

66. Cf. Balzano, *L'arte*, XII, 1909, 186, fig. 3.

67. Probably on the basis of the contract for the Madonna of Ripatransone in which it is twice mentioned, but not as a work of Gagliardelli.

68. The deep ∨ neck with the band of embroidery which borders it extending to the high waist is found on two busts in Berlin (nos. 1657, 1773) attributed to Desiderio, and on the *Princess of Urbino* in the same museum. I am unable to follow Valentiner in his attribution of the latter bust to Andrea dell'Aquila (*Art Quarterly*, I, 1938, 275 ff.). This same neckline appears very commonly in Florentine engravings dated 1460–80. Cf. examples in A. M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, London, 1938, II.

69. The Madonna, which came from the Church of S. Margherita and is now in the Museo Civico at Aquila, attributed to Silvestro (*Inventario, Aquila*, p. 51), is a repetition of this statue at Teramo by a close follower. In the simplification and stylization of the individual parts it is related to the Madonna of Teramo, as the Wellesley fragment is related to the Madonna of S. Bernardino, but

in the S. Margherita figure there is a distinct falling off in quality. The wooden figure in the Casa Mazzoni, Siena (illustrated in *Casa d'arte antica senese Mazzoni, Siena*, n.d., tav. XVI), attributed to Silvestro, seems to be a fifteenth-century derivative of the *Madonna del Colle* in the church of the same name at Pescocostanzo (*Inventario, Aquila*, p. 170). I see no connection with Silvestro's style. Chini (*Rassegna d'arte d. Abruzzi*, I, 1912, 12–13) attributes the Madonna in S. M. della Tomba, Sulmona, to Silvestro. This seems rather to be a school work, probably executed in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The same may be said of the Madonna in the church at Farno d'Acquasanta attributed to Silvestro by Serra (*Rassegna marchigiana*, IV, 1926, 508). The wooden Madonna in Detroit is much cruder than any work by Silvestro (Valentiner, "Andrea and Silvestro dell'Aquila," *Art in America*, XIV, 1925, 166–76, fig. 5). The wooden Madonna in Berlin (no. 239) which Valentiner attributes to Silvestro in the same article (fig. 6) and which Schottmüller assigns to a master from the Marches, is certainly connected with the art of the Abruzzi. The Child seems related in style to the one supported by the Madonna in S. M. della Tomba. The pose is the same, as is the action of the Virgin. Both may depend on the Madonna in the relief on the shrine of St. Bernardine, which is by an artist of the Abruzzi but not Silvestro, cf. note 75.

Francesco Trugi da Firenze.[70] Biasuccio's statue is undated, but it may not have been made long before the Madonna of Teramo, if one can judge by the harmony of vision and convention existing between it and the little silver Madonna on the shrine at Assergi, on which Silvestro's father was working at the time of his death in 1481.[71] Both may be representative of the style current among the older artists of Aquila.

More monumental and later than any of these Madonna statues is the one of S. Bernardino (Figs. 2 and 5).[72] In its dignity and repose, in its simplicity of design, it is harmonious with the new style just then forming in the large centers of Italy. Prophetic as this may appear, it is not owing to precocity on the part of Silvestro, for the conquest of depth through movement is lacking. Essentially it is due to the emergence with greater force of a trait found in all of his works. In his figure sculpture, monumentality is at the core of his art, and for this he owes little to outside influence. The quiet strength, the heavy draperies, large forms, prominent features[73]—these are as Abruzzese as the Gran Sasso itself, and may be discovered in the pulpits and doorways of the medieval period as well as in the sculpture of the Quattrocento.[74] In his last work, for which he was only in part responsible, the great depository for the bones of St. Bernardine,[75] which not long since had been ceremoniously placed in an elaborate silver casket sent by the king of France, Silvestro yielded again to the ornamental style, a style which seems always to have fascinated him, first in its Florentine and later in its Lombard-Roman form. But in the terracotta Madonna for the same church he brings to flower his native art.

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70. Chini, *Bullettino d. R.-Deput. abr.*, VIII, 1927, 41, 92.

71. *Inventario, Aquila*, pp. 71–72. Cf. also Chini, "Del l'oreficeria in Aquila durante il 400 e di Maestro Giacomo di Paolo da Sulmona," *Rivista abruzzese*, XXVIII, 1913, 80 ff.

72. The influence of Benedetto da Majano on the art of Silvestro, especially upon the Madonna of S. Bernardino, has been noted by De Nicola and others. Although the shield-bearers on the Camponeschi tomb indicate that Silvestro probably knew Benedetto's work in Naples, he was not affected by Benedetto's example, as he might have been in the figure of Maria Pereira (Fig. 12), nor in the St. John (Fig. 18), which bears little resemblance to Benedetto's St. John on the altarpiece of the Annunciation (1489). Any superficial similarity that may exist between his Madonnas and Benedetto's is dispelled upon careful analysis. In the Madonna of S. Bernardino, the contrast between the sweet, rather delicate face and the massive drapery is similar to that in Benedetto's Virgin of the Annunciation. But this is found in many late Quattrocento figures (e.g. Michelangelo's Virgin of the *Pietà* in St. Peter's). None of Benedetto's mannerisms appears, such as the drapery pinched in at the feet before it splays out on the ground, as in Lippi and Botticelli, the clusters of banana-shaped grooves by which its movement is indicated, or the tapering fingers loosely attached to the hand.

73. Cf. the illustrations in Balzano, *L'arte abruzzese*, Bergamo, 1910, pp. 20–25. An interesting example of the persistence of the jutting nose and chin common to the early medieval miniatures of the region (cf. M. Avery, "Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai . . . ," ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1941, 111), appears in the frescoes attributed to Andrea Delito in the Cathedral of Atri (van Marle, *op. cit.*, XV, 199, 200). A survival of the same, though less marked, appears in some of Silvestro's figures, where the forward thrust of the chin is emphasized by the deep furrow beneath the lower lip.

74. The emphasis upon heavy forms becomes obvious when comparisons are made between Nicolo Guardiagrele's silver crosses and paliotto (*Inventario, Aquila*, figs. on pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 80, 81; Balzano, *L'arte abruzzese*, pp. 98–104)

or the stone panels from Castel di Sangro (*ibid.*, 35) with the north doors by Ghiberti which inspired them.

75. Serra, *Aquila*, figs. on pp. 83–86. Ordered by Jacopo di Notar Nanni, the shrine was already under way in 1500, according to Jacopo's will drawn up in that year (quoted by De Nicola, *L'arte*, XI, 1908, 12. The reference to Leosini which De Nicola gives as the source of the transcription is incorrect). As revealed by the dedication, the shrine was completed in 1505, a year after Silvestro's death. The design, for which he is probably responsible, may have grown out of his plans for the façade of the church of S. Bernardino (Faraglia, *Rassegna pugliese*, XXVII, 1912, 340), which were never carried out. Both Salvato Romano and Silvestro's nephew and heir, Angelo di Marco, with whom Salvato was still living in 1508, seem to have worked on the monument (Chini, *Convegno, 1931, Atti e memorie*, II, 527). Because of the virtuosity in the carving of the ornament, the older writers attributed it to Salvato, while giving the figures to Silvestro. Many hands may be discerned in both figures and ornament, but none can be identified with Silvestro's own, for there is something facile and bland about the carving that is found nowhere else in his work. This is especially noticeable in the statues of St. John Baptist and St. Sebastian. The former may have been influenced in design by the St. John on the Camponeschi tomb (Fig. 18) but the style is unrelated. As Serra has noted (*op. cit.*, p. 82) the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul are dependent upon the style of Bregno. The St. John Evangelist suggests a knowledge of Verrocchio's work (cf. *ibid.*, p. 84), but it bears no relation to those sculptures by Silvestro which show Verrocchio's influence. The relief representing St. Bernardine presenting Jacopo di Notar Nanni to the Virgin accompanied by St. John of Capistrano owes its composition to similar groups on Roman tombs (G. S. Davies, *op. cit.*, figs. 35, 58). The full forms and drapery of the relief indicate that it was made by an artist trained in the Abruzzi (Silvestro's nephew?). It is only in the figures of St. Catherine, St. Francis (Fig. 19), and St. Bonaventura that I see a close connection with Silvestro's style. For these statues he may have made the models.

THE GREEK REVIVAL IN AMERICA
AND SOME OF ITS CRITICS

BY TALBOT HAMLIN

THE so-called Classic Revival movement in American architecture was many-sided. For Jefferson, who may be called its initiator, it was a means to simpler, grander, more dignified buildings—which, incidentally, were more convenient. For Nicholas Biddle, who had visited Paestum, it was the attempt to recreate in America the emotional beauty and power which he had felt before the Greek temples there—an experience of a new beauty which had hit him with the force of a religious revelation. There was in it thus from the beginning a double element: one, purely architectural, that is, purely devoted to the enhancement of actual, necessary, convenient, and workable structures; the other, almost purely emotional and associative. The first sought inspiration in the past for new designs for the present; the second sought models to copy.

This double motive ran through the entire movement. In rare cases its dualism confused American architects. But more commonly the two conceptions came to be held by two different groups—the architects, on the one hand, treating the Greek forms as inspirations only; the critics and the amateurs taking the second view, that Greek buildings were models to copy.

There is no stronger evidence of the immense hold the classic ideal had on the American consciousness than the myriad vocal expressions one finds of this underlying motive. American buildings were seen by the *cognoscenti* in terms of Greek buildings; around the columns and the pediments the amateurs wove a fascinating web of associative, sentimental, and to the modern architect quite pointless enthusiasm. Nicholas Biddle could see no better way of memorializing the excited wonder he had felt at Paestum than to have his architect, Thomas U. Walter, carry across the front of his country house, Andalusia, and down the sides, the Greek Doric columns and commanding pediment of a Greek temple. And without doubt something of the same rather naïve enthusiasm caused Girard to dictate in his will the general form of Girard College, and caused the builder of Berry Hill to raise his Parthenon over the Virginia meadows.

Philip Hone, perhaps the typical dilettante amateur of the period, was especially inclined to this associative enthusiasm. Judging by the extracts Professor Nevins has published from the Hone diary[1] (I have not examined the entire manuscript), Hone seems to have been interested in but two phases of architecture: (1) its cost and magnificence, and (2) the amount it recalled the grandeur and beauty of far away and long ago. Listen to his rhapsody on the Rockaway Hotel, which Town, Davis, and Dakin had designed for him:

We had last night at the Pavilion a farewell hop in the dining room, at which the girls enjoyed themselves very much. At eleven o'clock, I retired to my room, lighted a cigar, and seated myself at the front window. The view was unspeakably grand. The broad red moon, setting over the tops of the mountains of Neversink, threw a solemn light over the unruffled face of the ocean, and the lofty columns of the noble piazza, breaking the silver streams of light into dark and gloomy shadows, gave the edifice the appearance of some relic of classic antiquity (Vol. 1, p. 74; Sept. 1, 1835).

1. Philip Hone, *The Diary of Philip Hone*, edited with an introduction by Allan Nevins, New York, 1927.

And here is what he says of Strickland's Bank of the United States in Philadelphia:

The portico of this glorious edifice, the sight of which always repays me for coming to Philadelphia, appeared more beautiful to me this evening than usual, from the effect of the gas-light. Each of the fluted columns had a jet of light from the inner side so placed as not to be seen from the street, but casting a strong light upon the front of the building, the softness of which, with its flickering from the wind, produced an effect strikingly beautiful. How strange it is that in all the inventions of modern times archiecture alone seems to admit of no improvement—every departure from the classical models of antiquity in this science is a departure from grace and beauty (Vol. 1, p. 302; Feb. 14, 1838).

The other side of the picture is presented by most of the architects, though not by all. A. J. Davis, with facile enthusiasm, took now one side of the controversy, now the other.[2] He studied Greek temples thoroughly; in the Avery Library is a series of minute plans and elevations incredibly perfect in their meticulous rendering, and he complained of Walter's Girard College that it did not follow "antique proportions." Yet at the same time he was producing house designs of the most daring unconventionality, with boldly varied classic details to which he gave fantastic names—"Greek American," "Palmyrean," "Etruscan American" . . . . And his "Davisian" windows, combined in vertical tiers with recessed or dark-colored spandrels between, were an innovation to say the least.[3]

Other architects come out unequivocally on the side of fresh design for the needs of their own time. Latrobe, to be sure, gives a certain lip service to correctness. In a well-known passage he writes to Jefferson:

My principles of good taste are rigid in Grecian architecture. I am a bigoted Greek in the condemnation of the Roman architecture of Baalbec, Palmyra, and Spalatro . . .

But he also says:

Our religion requires a church wholly different from the [Greek] temples, our legislative assemblies and our courts of justice, buildings of entirely different principles from their basilicas; and our amusements could not possibly be performed in their theaters and amphitheaters.[4]

Note that he limits his correctness to details only, setting out function as the great controlling feature in building design. And in his work he goes even further. He does not hesitate, as early as 1807, to create his new American Corn Order, used so beautifully in the ground-floor vestibule of the old Senate in the Capitol at Washington; eight years later, after the Capitol had been burned, he complemented it with the Tobacco Plant Order in the Senate Rotunda on the floor above. A. J. Davis, a quarter century later, used an order made of both tobacco and corn elements on the Library building of the University of North Carolina (now the Playmakers Theater there).

Listen to Robert Mills, in two articles published only in the Appendix to Mrs. Gallagher's biography of him[5]—first, from the introduction to a proposed book, "The Architectural Work of Robert Mills":

Utility and economy will be found to have entered into most of the studies of the author, and little sacrificed to display; at the same time his endeavors were to produce as much harmony and beauty of arrangement as practicable. The principle assumed and acted upon was that beauty is founded upon order, and that convenience and utility were constituent parts . . .

2. For the career of Davis, see Roger Hale Newton, *Town and Davis, Architects*, New York, 1942.

3. Professor Henry-Russell Hitchcock has pointed out to me that the "Davisian window" was a creation of C. F. Schinkel, who undoubtedly made use of the idea much earlier than Davis (as, for instance, in the Berlin Court Theater, 1818–1821). Davis could have known of this through the rich library of his partner, Ithiel Town. But the manner in which this scheme of combining windows into vertical bands is used is quite different in the work of the American from that in the work of the German, and also more flexible and free.

4. [Benjamin Henry Latrobe] *The Journal of Latrobe*, New York, 1905.

5. H. M. Pierce Gallagher, *Robert Mills, Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781–1855*, New York, 1935.

The subject of domestic economy in the arrangement of private houses has since undergone considerable improvement, particularly in France, and many useful hints are to be gathered from French works on architecture, but the author has made it a rule never to consult books when he had to design a building. His considerations were—first, the object of the building; second, the means appropriated for its construction; third, the situation it was to occupy; these served as guides in forming the outline of his plan.

Books are useful to the student, but when he enters upon the practice of his profession he should lay them aside and only consult them upon doubtful points or in matters of detail, or as mere studies, not to copy buildings from . . . [6]

And listen, too, to Mills's application of the same general idea (that a good art must be an art of its time) to the subject of statues of Washington:

Our artists, therefore, should never forget the original models of their country, neither the customs nor manners of their people, when they execute works of art either for their government or for their fellow citizens. Examples of the failure of these artistic works to give satisfaction to the public are unfortunately too numerous; the colossal statue of Washington within the eastern enclosure of the Capitol at Washington—a splendid work—has failed to meet public approval, not only from the costume used but the sitting attitude of the figure . . . but let the American visit the capitol at Richmond and view the statue of Washington [Houdon's], and all other statues fall into the shade before this beautiful and correct representation of the father of his country. This last statue is approved by the million, where but a few admire the others named, and I say to our artists: Study your country's tastes and requirements, and make classic ground *here* for your art. Go not to the old world for your examples. We have entered a new era in the history of the world; it is our destiny to lead, not to be led. Our vast country is before us and our motto Excelsior. The importance of the subject must plead for this digression. [7]

Thomas U. Walter and the younger Robert Carey Long are equally forthright in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia*. Long wrote, in an essay on "The Degeneration of Modern Architecture" in 1841: [8]

Must men progress in goodness and in wisdom? Then, must architecture also! Is man so progressive? Then is architecture also, though, we may not know it or see it. Architecture must manifest the changes that are taking place in society, the greater ones, we hope and believe, that are yet to come . . .

It is as much out of the rule of rationality to think it possible to reinvigorate architecture by forcing it into an antique mould, as to expect that, if disgusted with manhood, we can bring back simplicity and innocence by putting on the garments of youth. Architecture must grow naturally. . . . Let us all try and see which of us will first produce something in the art peculiar—characteristic—suited to the age—national.

The same year Walter wrote:

The popular idea that to design a building in Grecian taste is nothing more than to copy a Grecian building is altogether erroneous;—even the Greeks themselves never made two buildings alike. . . . If architects would oftener *think* as the Greeks thought, than to *do* as the Greek did, our columnar architecture would possess a higher degree of originality and its character and expression would gradually conform to the local circumstances of the country and the republican spirit of its institutions. [9]

And it is these people and their like who were accused of filling the country with "imitation Greek temples." I thought it might be worth while to examine this point statistically. I took Howard Major's *The Domestic Architecture of the Early Republic: the Greek Revival* [10] and enumerated the examples it showed. I counted as "temple type" any house with a

6. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
8. Vol. xxxii, No. 4 (October 1841).

9. Vol. xxxii, No. 1 (January 1841).
10. Philadelphia, 1926.

FIG. 4. Nantucket, Mass.: House at 96 Main Street, Built by William Hadwen, 1845/46

FIG. 2. Providence, R. I.: House on College Street near Benefit Street

FIG. 3. Yellow Springs, Ohio: House, *ca.* 1850

FIG. 1. New Haven, Conn.: View and Plans of Residence and Library of Ithiel Town, *ca.* 1830 (Wood Engraving from a Drawing by A. J. Davis)

HOUSES OF THE GREEK REVIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES
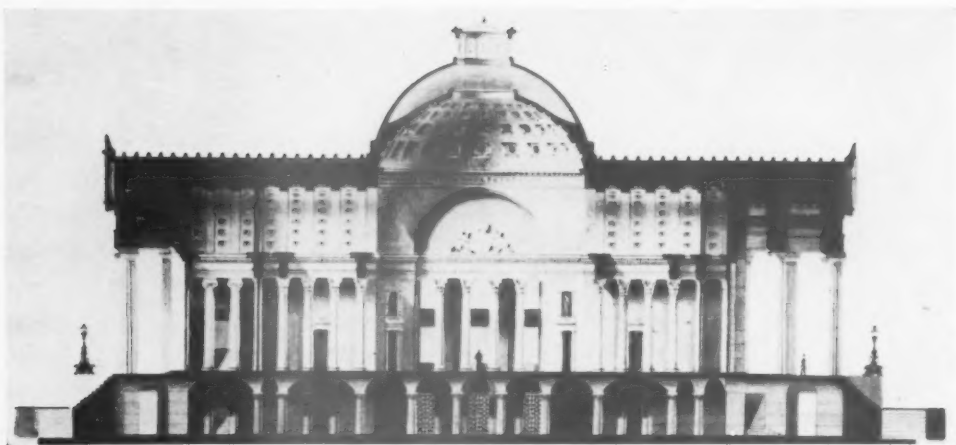
FIG. 5. Columbia University, Avery Library: Rendered Section of Competition Design for New York Custom House, by Town and Davis, 1833
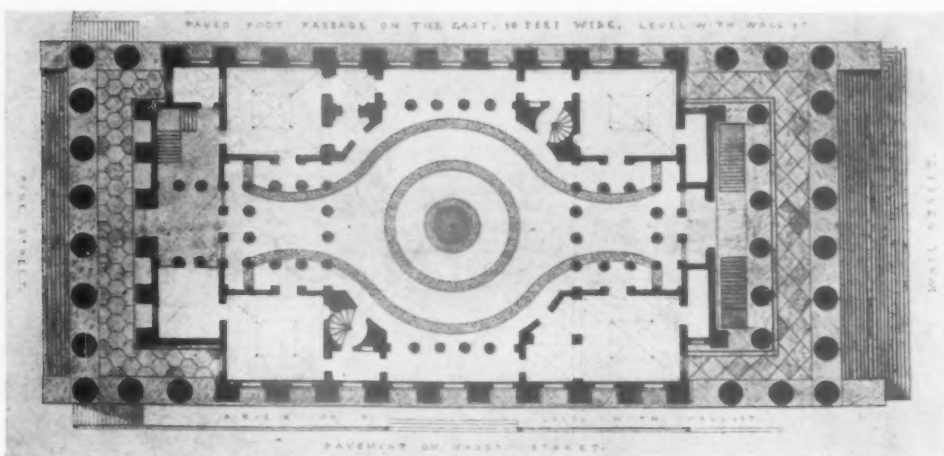
FIG. 6. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Plan of Competition Design for New York Custom House, by Town and Davis, 1833 (Rendered Engraving)

FIG. 7. Wickford, R. I.: Church, *ca.* 1835

FIG. 8. New York, N. Y.: Warehouse on Water St., by Town and Davis (?), Soon After Fire of 1835

PUBLIC AND COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS OF THE GREEK REVIVAL

simple rectangular plan, with columns running the entire height, and with a gabled roof ending in classic pediments, no matter how unclassic in other ways—such as having columns on axis, solid portions in the center with side porches only, attenuated detail, and so on. The "temple type with wings" covers all the T- or L-shaped structures with a pedimented portico as the end of one or more of the wings, though the mass composition of these—its most important *architectural* feature—is new and owes little if anything to ancient sources (Fig. 4). With these definitions in mind, I classified the houses Major shows. The result surprised even me:

TEMPLE TYPE	24
TEMPLE WITH WINGS	40
NON-TEMPLE-TYPE HOUSES	116

If Major had given a greater proportionate importance to the Greek Revival work of the Midwest, and to the smaller country work, the proportion of non-temple-type buildings would obviously be much greater.

It was, in fact, precisely the period of the so-called Greek Revival (roughly 1820–50) that saw the greatest outburst of independence and variety in house planning which this country knew before the Civil War. People were building houses to fit themselves, their families, their sites, and their climate; the older, traditional forms were rapidly giving place to many new types. This development covered all classes of house building, from the largest to the smallest.

Thus both Lafever[11] and Shaw[12] published plates of modest cottages of new plan types, and Lafever in his plate description is specific in stating his objections to the old type. In a more sophisticated manner, Jonathan Goldsmith,[13] the Ohio architect, showed in his own cottage near Painesville the possibility for beautiful design inherent in this free attitude. The same freedom is true of many larger town residences and farmhouses (Figs. 2 and 3). Especially common were L-shaped plans, often with off-center entrances and with the greatest freedom in the interrelation of rooms. Sometimes, as in several midwestern examples—such as that from Ashtabula[14]—these are combined with recessed porches.

Another class of variations is to be found in the almost numberless examples in which a two-story central portion is flanked by lower wings. The origin of this perhaps lies in two plates in Lafever's *The Modern Builders' Guide*.[15] In these, room and stair arrangements were necessarily quite different from those in the old traditional five-bay house.

Another group of houses, although they are axially symmetrical in basic design, have entrances at the side, in order to give the most important position to a monumental suite of entertainment rooms (Fig. 1). The most highly developed example of this is the Alsop house[16] in Middletown, in which the double stair arrangement is not unlike that shown in one of the Lafever plates mentioned above. The Alsop house, like the Jonathan Goldsmith cottage, shows also the independence in exterior design which is so frequently to be found in these houses. There is little that is Greek save the molding profiles and occasional details. In some parts, as in the delicate iron piazza, it seems almost Regency; in others, there is a prophecy of the Italianate taste which was later to become so fashionable.

The same freedom in house planning permeated all sections of the country. It gave rise

11. In *The Young Builder's General Instructor*, Newark, 1829.

12. In *Rural Architecture*, Boston, 1843.

13. Shown in I. T. Frary, *Early Homes of Ohio*, Richmond, 1936.

14. *Ibid.*

15. New York, 1833.

16. Shown in The Architects' Emergency Committee, *Great Georgian Houses*, New York, 1937, vol. II.

to the imaginative one-story buildings that were especially numerous in the Middle West, like the Renick Young farm[17] near Circleville, or the Joseph Swift house[18] at Vermillion. Both of these, moreover, use detail of specifically Greek type though freely modified. They are essentially integrated designs which show admirably the way in which the ancient inspiration is used for essentially non-archaeological design. There is a similar feeling in many of the great houses of the South, where the desire for large entertainment space developed plan types of a character quite different from those of the normal Colonial type. For instance, James K. Polk's mansion, Rattle and Snap,[19] in Maury County, Tennessee, develops extraordinary monumentality around its fresh and efficient plan.

In city houses likewise, though the usual narrow lot limited the architect, there was frequent departure from traditional norms. Thus, in New York, A. J. Davis sought continuously to substitute a grade entrance for the traditional stoop, developing a type which later came to be called the American basement type. In his large houses, as in those of many other architects in many other cities, there was naturally more opportunity for variation. A series of studies which Davis made for the famous Stevens palace in New York reveals his effort not only to produce with the space at hand the most monumental and impressive series of related interior spaces, but also to give those spaces unusual geometric quality.

And everywhere exterior design seems to have been controlled by the same freedom of thought. Only a small proportion of these houses had free-standing colonnades, except perhaps as minor porches, and of those which did plume themselves on large two-story porticoes only a few were of imitative temple type. The "imitation Greek temple" was, in fact, a myth.

Yet it was on the basis of its imitative quality that the Greek Revival tradition was attacked in the 'forties and 'fifties—with a success so extraordinary that this unsupported accusation has colored our understanding of our own architectural achievements ever since. I will cite but two examples of this common attitude. The first is the Greek Revival chapter, "In Which We Slip a Chiton over our Linsey-Woolsey," in Thomas Tallmadge's *The Story of Architecture in America*;[20] the second is the introduction to a paper by Alexander B. Trowbridge in the White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs entitled *The Greek Revival in Owego*.[21]

Tallmadge writes (page 93): "In fact, of all the exotic styles that have captured the American taste, the Greek Revival was the most exotic and of our provincialism the most flagrant example." Later, after noting how well Colonial and Victorian buildings were adjusted to the costumes and the life of their times, he says: "But where is there any such harmony between life and architecture in the thirty or forty years of the Greek Revival?" And he accepts Mrs. Trollope's strictures on American taste without question or criticism. He writes (page 98): "In it [the Greek Revival] the architects exactly copied, wherever they could, either ensembles, portions, or details of Greek temples, applying them to every kind of American building. I know no instance where any sort of originality was used in arranging this artistic loot. . . . Exactness of copying was the ideal; any deviation from the model was a barbarism . . . "! Shades of Latrobe, Strickland, Davis, Benjamin, Lafever! . . . The old traditional attack (that the Greek Revival was filling America with imitation Greek temples) has blinded even such an historian and critic as the late Thomas

17. Frary, *op. cit.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Shown in Fraser Smith, *White Pillars, Early Life and Architecture of the Lower Mississippi Valley Country*, New

York, 1941.
20. New York, 1927.
21. Vol. IV, No. 5 (October 1918).

Tallmadge to evident facts which should have been obvious on any but the most superficial examination of extant monuments or handbook plates. See, for instance, Mills's originality of treatment in the New Bedford Custom House (Fig. 9), the Wickford, R. I., church (Fig. 7), or the New York warehouse (Fig. 8).

Thus both Benjamin's and Lafever's house-building details were followed widely the country over; both gave correct plates for the Greek orders, but elsewhere seem to have departed from the archaeological attitude throughout. Their mantels, their doors and doorways, and their dormer windows—though obviously using some details of Greek inspiration—are certainly more original and American than archaeological and Greek. Both even developed new orders. Benjamin in *The Practice of Architecture*[22] creates an order generally Doric in type for a specific American usage (Fig. 10), and Lafever in *The Beauties of Modern Architecture*[23] not only creates a new order distantly Corinthian (Fig. 20) but, in addition, shows a modified Ionic designed by himself (Fig. 17).

In the examples of mantels and similar building forms, both of these author-architects depart even further from Greek precedent. For example, Benjamin in *The Practical House Carpenter*[24] shows windows and doors and mantels (Figs. 11–12) of the greatest variety, in all of which his own personal interpretation or variation of the Greek fret plays an important part—as, for instance, in Plate 51 (Fig. 12), a mantel with Doric columns, a flat-edged shelf, and a wide, simple frieze decorated with a fret.[25] Lafever, on the other hand, liked especially the rosette and the anthemion and out of them developed a specifically American alphabet of delicate decorated forms as original as they are rich (Figs. 15, 16, and 18).[26] His door cornices and crestings are especially noteworthy.[27]

Thus on the score both of general design and of detail Major's indictment of the Greek Revival is hardly supported by the facts.

Mr. Trowbridge is more tentative. He can't help admiring the beauty of some of these houses he is writing about. He has to find excuses for his admiration; he finds it in their occasional approximation to Colonial types. In his paper he begins:

You may think it strange that one should hesitate to write for so excellent a publication as the White Pine Series, but possibly you have not taken in the title of this Monograph. . . . As [at the Library] I handed in my application slip for a history of Tioga County, my thoughts naturally turned to the earlier, more inviting periods of American architecture when men were courtly and dressed the part . . . I found—I might have known it if I had thought at all—the frock coat donned for daguerreotypes, the heavy boots of native cobbling, and most disconcerting of all, whiskers which the Goldberg type of humorist loves to draw. Here was a nice situation. Can anyone write upon an architecture connected with so unlovely a period? . . .

Later, he tries to be fair to the subject to which he has condescended. He writes:

Lest this article should take on the appearance of a little slam, let me state that I have no desire to be unkind to my subject. When, however, one sees a clumsy attempt to execute in painted wood the proportions and details of the Periclean age, one cannot resist the impulse to poke fun at it.

It is typical that in discussing a house he almost likes—the Daniels house in Owego—he says:

The Daniels house looks like something which started out to be dressed in the costume of the Greek Revival, but weakened at the last moment and fell back upon pseudo-Colonial detail. It would take a seer to trace the origin of the detail of the main pilasters.

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22. Boston, 1833.
23. New York, 1835.
24. Boston, 1830.
25. See also, for work in a similar spirit, Plates 31, 32, 49, and 50.

26. See especially the designs for a "Parlour" shown in Plates 67–71 of *The Modern Builders' Guide*.
27. These are found especially in *The Beauties of Modern Architecture*, as in Plates 1, 6, 19, 25, 26.

In other words, you damn the correct for its correctness, and the inventive for its incorrectness—damned if you do and damned if you don't!

Thus the amateurs' enthusiasm for the American architecture of a century ago because it was Greek furnished the basis for the critical attacks on it because it was Greek, and this whole theory became an accepted part of American artistic folklore.

The original attack came from two directions—from the out-and-out Gothicists, and from those, like Arthur Gilman, who were forerunners of eclecticism. Both made their attacks on the grounds of logic and common sense.

The chief attack from the side of the romanticists came from that extraordinary genius —one too much forgotten today—Andrew Jackson Downing. In his *Landscape Gardening*, his *Cottage Residences*, and his "Notes and Hints to Persons about Building in This Country,"[28] he brings his trenchant mind to bear on American building problems. He wanted practical as well as aesthetic changes. He inveighs against the sham, the imitation, the unsuitable; he searches for efficiency, functional planning, harmony between building and site, for variety, "picturesqueness," the informal rather than the formal. And as his great *bête noire* he fixes on the house which is an "imitation Greek temple." He shows an engraving of one to illustrate his attacks. He was ably seconded by his illustrator, A. J. Davis, a close friend—originally a Classic Revival architect, but in the 'forties in the forefront of the rebels against it.[29]

America was evidently ready for Downing's doctrines; his books were published in edition after edition. Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* appeared in America in 1849, the year of its English publication, and Ruskin became more popular and more read in America in the early part of his life than in England.[30] Pugin's keen architectural criticisms —those of *Contrasts* and of *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*[31]—were also known in this country soon after their English publication; they are referred to by Gilman in his 1844 review of Shaw's *Rural Architecture*.[32] Of course, against their savage logic the "imitation Greek temple" had little chance of survival. The phrase grew into a wholesale condemnation of the entire school—the myth conquered the actuality as it always does. What chance had quiet dignity, simple, efficient, and varied planning, and good construction against the warm, highly colored writing that the Gothic villa called forth? Or against the dizzying combination of nature mysticism, religion, and associative richness of the "sublime" and the "picturesque"?

28. *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America*, New York, London, Boston, 1841. *Cottage Residences*, New York, London, 1842. "Notes and Hints to Persons about Building in This Country," a supplementary essay by Downing, added to the American edition of George Wightwick's *Hints to Young Architects*, New York, London, 1847. See also Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses*, New York, Philadelphia, 1850.

29. A. J. Davis had been designing in the Gothic vein since at least the early 'thirties, but he used Greek forms occasionally until well into the later 'forties. See Newton, *op. cit.*

30. See R. H. Wilenski, *John Ruskin: an Introduction to Further Study of His Life and Works*, New York, 1933, and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., *American Architectural Books: a List of Books, Portfolios, and Pamphlets Published in America Before 1895* (mimeographed), Middletown, Conn., 1938-39.

Wilenski shows conclusively that Ruskin's popularity in England developed markedly only in the 1870's (the first Ruskin Club in England dating only from 1879); he comments on the small sale of the Ruskin books during the 'fifties and early 'sixties.

Hitchcock's bibliography notes that pirated editions of all the important Ruskin works appeared in America in the same year that saw the original English editions, and that there were many more printings in America than in England. Thus the period of 1849-1875 saw only three issues of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in England; the same period witnessed eight American issues. Hitchcock remarks (p. R-8) that the evidence suggests the existence in America of "an insatiable appetite for Ruskin's architectural writing."

31. *Contrasts: or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Decay of Taste*, London, 1836. *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, London, 1843.

32. Boston, 1843.

FIG. 9. New Bedford, Mass.: Portico of Custom House, by Robert Mills, 1836
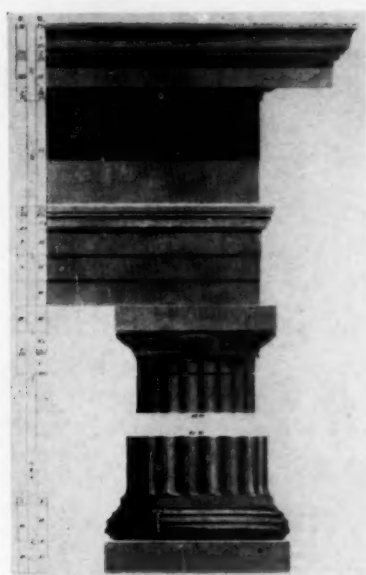
FIG. 10. Asher Benjamin: A New Order (*Practice of Architecture*, Boston, 1833, Plate 7)
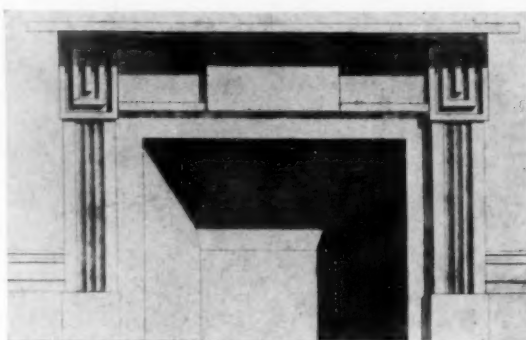
FIGS. 11–12. Asher Benjamin: Marble Mantel Pieces (*The Practical House Carpenter*, Boston, 1830, Plates 50 and 51)
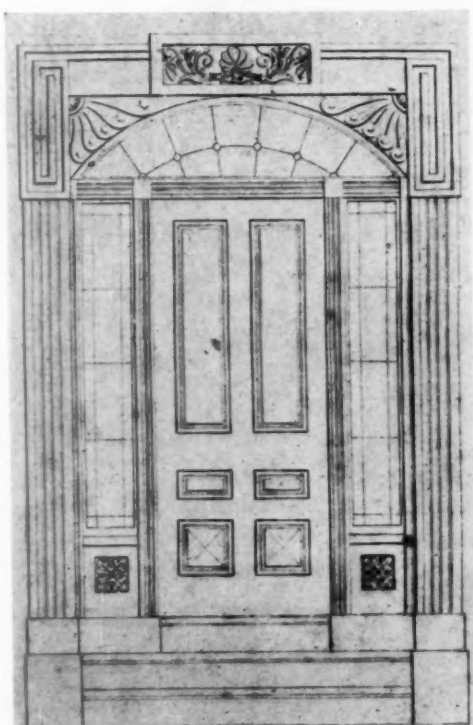
FIG. 13. Asher Benjamin: A Front Door (*Practice of Architecture*, Plate 28)
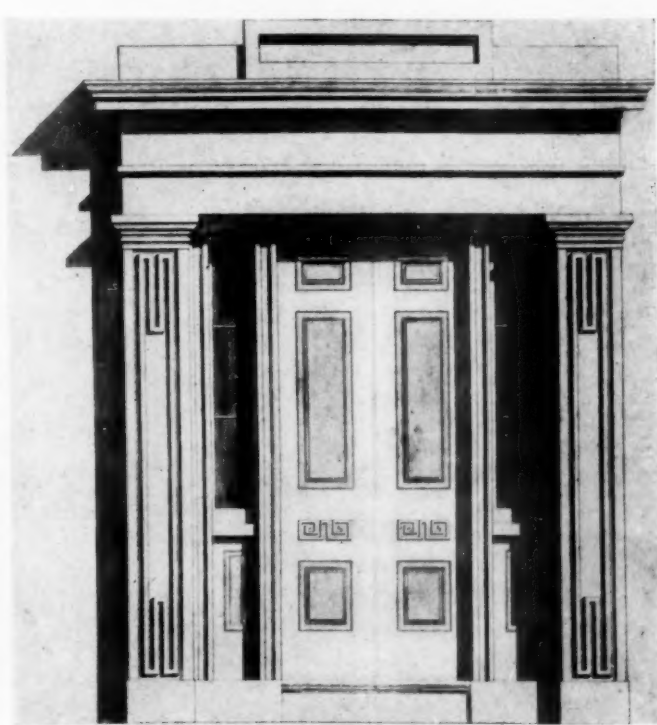
FIG. 14. Asher Benjamin: A Front Door (*The Practical House Carpenter*, Plate 28)

AMERICAN GREEK REVIVAL DETAIL: ASHER BENJAMIN AND ROBERT MILLS
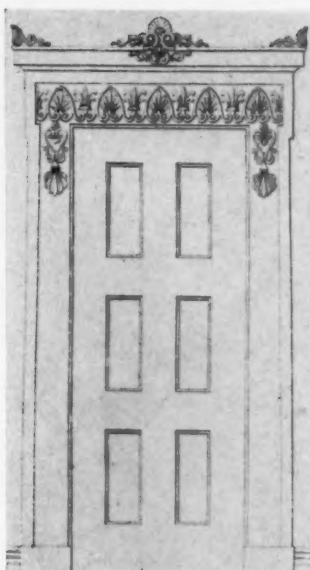
FIG. 15. Minard Lafever: A Parlor Door (*The Beauties of Modern Architecture*, Pl. 19)
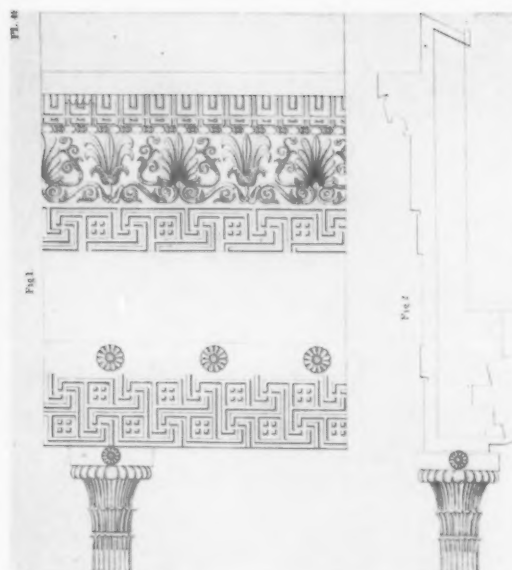
FIG. 16. Minard Lafever: Gallery Front for a Church (*The Beauties of Modern Architecture*, Pl. 48)
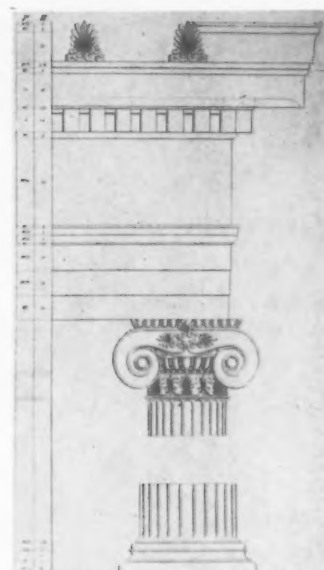
FIG. 17. Minard Lafever: A New Ionic Order (*The Beauties of Modern Architecture*, Pl. 31)
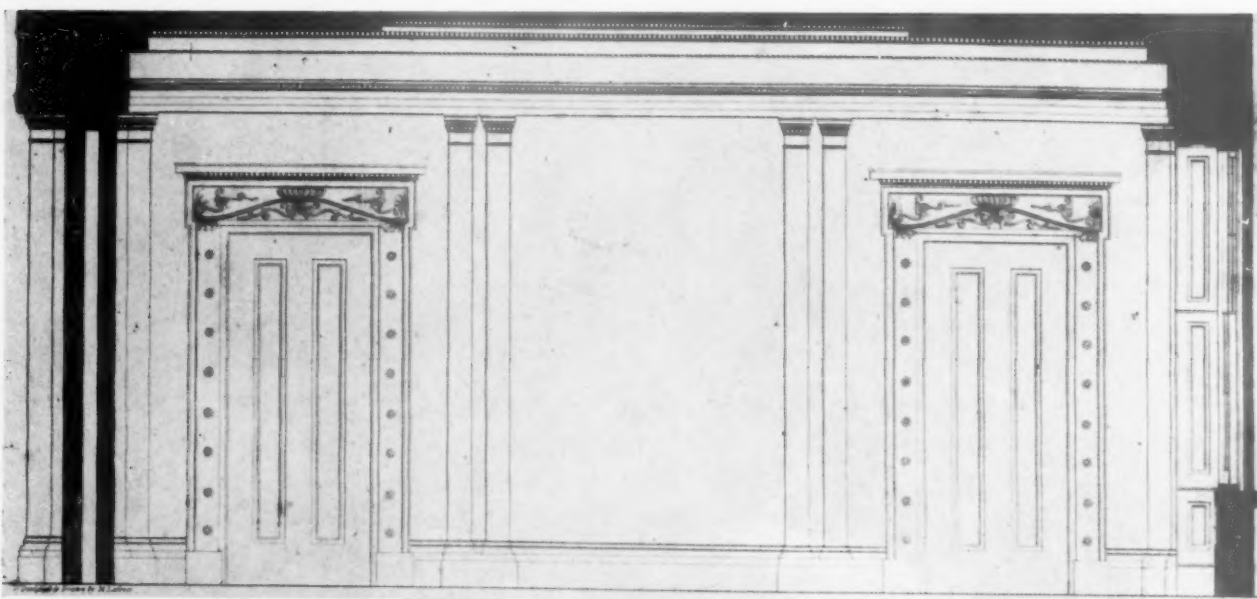
FIG. 18. Minard Lafever: A Parlor (*The Modern Builder's Guide*, Pl. 69)

FIG. 19. Newport, R. I.: Doorway of a House
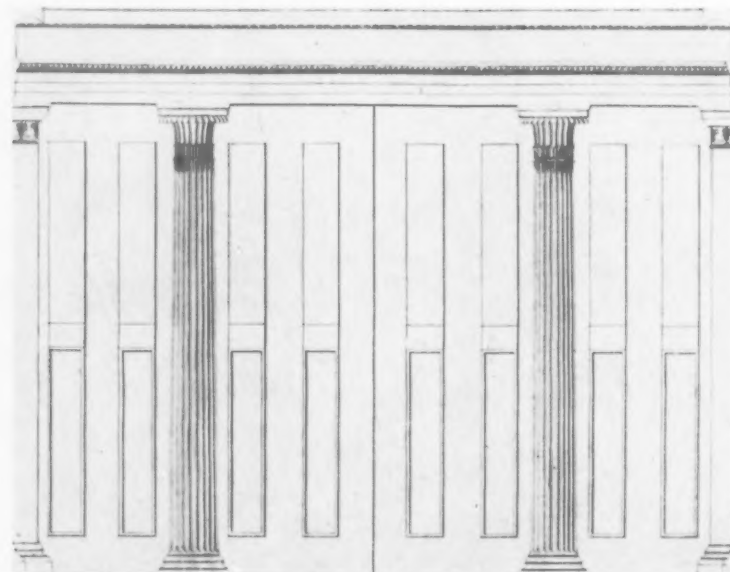
FIG. 20. Minard Lafever: Sliding and Folding Doors (*The Beauties of Modern Architecture*, Pl. 7)

AMERICAN GREEK REVIVAL DETAIL: MINARD LAFEVER AND HIS FOLLOWERS

The other attacks on the existing traditions in American building from the side of more purely rationalist critics were more hard-headed. Especially important was a series of articles—in the guise of book reviews—published in the *North American Review*. The first was by H. R. Cleveland, Jr., in 1836[33]—a review of James Gallier's *Price Book*.[34] Cleveland did not object to the Greek Revival buildings *per se*; he refers to the United States Bank at Philadelphia as "undoubtedly the most faultless monument of its size in the United States ... severely chaste and simple." It is the growing fashion for Greek houses that disturbs him. "There seems to be a prevailing passion for columns, throughout the country," he writes. " ... We do not deny these columns are very handsome; it is the thought of their material, pine wood, which destroys their effect ... Nothing can be more admirable for imitation that the English cottage style, as it is perfectly adapted to our climate, and in good keeping with our taste in ornamental gardening; and we would earnestly recommend to our architects, to import plans and elevations of these buildings, which constitute the true style of domestic architecture, rather than to go on multiplying among us the abortive temples and palaces, with which the land already groans." The second, eight years later, in 1844, was a review by Gilman of Edward Shaw's *Rural Architecture*.[35] Gilman expresses his keen dislike for both Greek and Gothic forms in America, states his admiration of some of the earlier, simpler, Colonial churches, and seizes upon the Renaissance styles of Europe as the most fruitful source of architectural influence. This is the first reasoned support of eclecticism in architecture to appear (so far as I know) in America. The books of A. J. Downing furnished occasion for other revealing reviews. Later in 1844 Gilman[36] reviewed Downing's *Cottage Residences*, which, consistently enough, he did not like, thinking them derivative, frivolous, sentimental, and unreal. *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* in 1841,[37] however, is enthusiastic about Downing's work.

Downing's attack was on a broader basis—the combination of the principle of fitness with the acceptance of sentiment or association as a basis of beauty. His works were extraordinarily popular. Thus the *Theory and Practice of Landscape Architecture, adapted to North America; with remarks on Rural Architecture*, first published in 1841, saw thirteen different issues of eight editions, up to 1879; *Cottage Residences*, first appearing in 1842, saw ten issues or editions to 1887; and *The Architecture of Country Houses*, which appeared in 1850, saw eight issues up to 1866. His landscape design is informal "romantic"; evidently his architectural preferences were also, although he always tries to be fair and give even the devil (the Greek Revival) his due. Some quotations from *The Architecture of Country Houses* are in order:

What familiar conversation, however tasteful and well bred, is to public declamation, Domestic is to Civil or Ecclesiastical Architecture, and we have no more patience with those architects who give us copies of the Temple of Theseus, with its high, severe colonnades, for dwellings, than for a friend who should describe his wife and child to us in the lofty rhythms of Ossian (p. 28).

On truth:

It may appear singular to one not accustomed to dwell on the subject, that it should be necessary to insist upon the value of so obvious a truth as that a dwelling-house should look like a dwelling-house. ... We recall a villa on the banks of the Hudson, built in the form of a Doric temple, all the chimneys of which are studiously collected together in the center of the roof. ... One might be well puzzled to know what sort of edifice was intended. ... So too ... we still occasionally see houses

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33. October 1836.
34. *The American Builder's General Price Book and Estimator*, Boston, 1834.

35. April 1844.
36. October 1844.
37. December 1841.

which are pretty close imitations of Greek temples: and which, as they have sometimes as much space devoted to porticoes and colonnades as to rooms, one may well be pardoned for doubting exactly for what purpose they were designed (pp. 30, 31).

In *Cottage Residences*, Downing lists architectural merits as: (1) fitness or usefulness, or the beauty of utility; (2) expression of purpose, or the beauty of propriety; and (3) expression of style, or the beauty of form and sentiment. Unity, variety, symmetry are desirable, but he adds:

Now almost all persons who have not cultivated a taste for architecture, or whose organizations are deficient in this quality, would prefer a regular house to a symmetrically irregular one, because with them the reason only demands to be satisfied; but with more cultivated minds the taste and imagination are active, and the irregular building would be chosen, as affording more intense and enduring pleasure (pp. 19, 20).

And again:

Thus if we talk pure Greek and build a Grecian temple for a dwelling, we shall be little understood, or perhaps only laughed at by our neighbors. It is not much better in the present day to recite an epic poem by building a cathedral, or a heroic one by constructing a castle for our habitation. Let us rather be more sensible, though not less graceful in our architectural utterance, and express a pleasant, every-day language in an old English Mansion, a Rural Gothic cottage, or an Italian villa . . . (pp. 22, 23).

Another:

Not a little of the delight of beautiful buildings to a cultivated mind grows out of the *sentiment* of architecture, or the associations connected with certain styles. Thus the sight of an old English villa will call up in the mind . . . the times of the Tudors, or of "Merry England," in the days of Elizabeth . . . (p. 24).

In his *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Architecture . . . with remarks on Rural Architecture*, Downing remarks:

As it is admitted, then, that Grecian architecture is intrinsically beautiful in itself, and highly interesting in point of associations, it may be asked what are the objections, if any, to its common introduction into domestic Rural Architecture.

To this we answer, that although this form meagrely copied, Fig. 42, is actually in more common use than any other style in the United States, it is greatly inferior to the Gothic and its modifications in fitness, including under that head all the comforts and conveniences of country life (pp. 382, 383).

Later he says:

With the addition, here [in the United States], of a veranda, which the cool summers of England render needless, we believe the Tudor Gothic to be the most convenient and comfortable, and decidedly the most picturesque and striking style for country residences of a superior class (pp. 400, 401).

Horatio Greenough, however, one of the most forward-looking critics of his time, whatever the merits of his sculpture, saw the Greek and Gothic expressions in American art quite differently. A famous article of his in *The Democratic Review* for 1843[38] shows him already seeking for a special, distinctive, native American style of architecture. The sudden and rapid growth of the country, he felt, had prevented such a development. In trying to define the qualities of this American style, he is forced to a comparison of the existing trends, ancient and medieval; his taste seems to incline more to the Greek Astor House, or the Egyptian Reservoir, than to the Gothic Trinity Church (all in New York). He writes:

38. Vol. XIII, August 1843. Exactly ten years later, this article was reprinted in *The Southern Literary Messenger,* Vol. XIX, August 1853, as part of a projected memorial volume.

The puny cathedral of Broadway [Trinity Church], like an elephant dwindled to the size of a dog, measures her [America's] yearning for Gothic sublimity, while the roar of the Astor House, and the mammoth vase of the great reservoir, shows how she works when she feels at home and is in earnest . . .

Yet no really great architecture, he feels, can come from the past:

True it is, that the commonwealth, with that desire of public magnificence which has ever been a leading feature of democracy, has called from the vasty deep the spirits of the Greek, the Roman, and the Gothic styles; but they would not come when she did call to them.

Greenough wanted all buildings to be designed from the inside out, and divides buildings into classes, the organic and the monumental; he cites ships and their design as an example for the architects to follow. So, just as Gilman earlier had prophesied the eclectic era, Greenough has here anticipated the thinking, even the very words and methods, of the architectural critics and writers who, almost a century later, will usher in the new day of twentieth-century design which was to develop after the First World War.

This may be taken as an example of mid-nineteenth-century, common-sense, middle-of-the-road criticism. That such objective analyses of style were not uncommon can be seen in a series of reviews issued by *The New York Mirror* during the period between 1846 and 1847. These reviewed the various numbers of Ranlett's house designs published under the name *The American Architect*,[39] which was then being issued to subscribers in parts. On October 17, 1846, the reviewer writes:

These cottages have nothing to commend them but a picturesque profile. . . . They are the most costly and least convenient houses that can be built. . . . They are the imitations of the natural expressions of an age of semi-civilization and gross ignorance. . . . It was quite pardonable in Horace Walpole and Sir Walter Scott to build gingerbread houses in imitation of robber barons and Bluebeard chieftains; they were poets and had written Gothic romances; they would fill their houses with rusty old armour, lances, drinking horns and mouldy tapestry, and they were surrounded by the memorials of the times they were idly trying to revive. But there can be nothing more grotesque, more absurd, or more affected, than for a quiet gentleman, who has made his fortune in the peaceful occupation of selling calicos, and who knows no more of the middle ages than they do of him, to erect for his family residence a gimcrack of a Gothic castle . . . as though he anticipated an attack upon his roost from some Front de Bœuf in the neighborhood.

On February 20, 1847, in reviewing a succeeding number of *The American Architect*, the reviewer makes still more clear the non-archaeological, common-sense, rationalist character of his approach. He says:

No. 7 is a neat design; it is called a Grecian cottage, probably from the inclination of the roof, but the pointed roofs of the north of Europe are purely Grecian, because they are constructed upon the same principle upon which the roof of the Parthenon was; that of conformity to the latitude of the site on which they were built.

On April 3 another number of *The American Architect* appeared, and the reviewer likes in it especially a Grecian villa at Clifton and a Bracketed cottage at Elliotville, both on Staten Island; he thinks both Grecian and Bracketed types are far superior, because they are more sensible and less pretentious than the gingerbread Gothic or Elizabethan that was coming more and more into use.

It has frequently been the custom, as we have seen, to decry Greek Revival work for its derivative, false, and imitative nature, and to celebrate its fall as a step toward purer and more American building ideals. But let us examine the case objectively.

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39. This work, originally issued in parts, was published in book form, in two volumes, New York, 1849–51.

To a much greater extent than with the classic revivals, the medieval revival had roots that were literary. Gothic romances led to "castellated" houses; in both it was the "atmosphere," the emotional effect, that was the essential thing. Naturally the *way* the effect was produced was secondary; inevitably the early Gothicists of America built effects rather than buildings. The whole cult of the picturesque was designed to disintegrate building techniques and lower building standards; if the result was a structure that was a good romantic picture, a "pretty bit," what matter if its tracery was jigsaw wood, its battlements of boards? The Gothic Revival in America accepted lath-and-plaster "vaults" as a matter of course for half a century. Even *The New York Ecclesiologist*, the great arbiter of the style, in clamoring for purity and correctness, only occasionally referred to the claptrap, stage-scenery construction with which the Gothic effects were so often produced. Richard Upjohn, to be sure, designed little "Gothic" churches that were frankly, and beautifully, of wood; he accepted the inexpensive material as a condition of the problem.[40] Yet that was exceptional; in both houses and churches the average Gothic designer of the 'thirties and 'forties used materials as thoughtlessly, as insensitively, as any Baroque architect, and almost always sought the maximum "Gothic" elaboration with the cheapest, most unsuitable materials in imitation of others more expensive to obtain and to work.

The Greek Revival, too, was often guilty of much the same error—stuccoing brick to symbolize stone, and using wooden columns in most (though not all) of its domestic work. But there is a profound difference, nevertheless, between the two styles in their attitude toward building. Wherever possible, the Greek Revival architect used stone; in his most important, most monumental buildings, granite and limestone and marble do the work they seem to do (Fig. 8). Where vaulted forms occur, they are usually actual masonry vaults (Figs. 5 and 6). One has only to visit the basement of the United States Capitol or of the New York Sub-Treasury building, one has only to remember the 80-foot brick coffered dome of Isaiah Rogers's New York Merchants' Exchange, one has only to see the magnificent vaulting of Girard College, to realize this structural sense of the Greek Revival architects. They made magnificent construction the basis for monumental effect. But if we take even the most expensive, the most highly developed of the Gothic Revival churches, universally acclaimed as masterpieces in the style—such as Upjohn's Trinity Church and Renwick's Grace Church, in New York, or Lafever's Holy Trinity in Brooklyn—we find in every case a lath-and-plaster vault as the climax of the design. And with, at the time, no apparent protest. . . . The effect was gained; what did the means matter?

But the public, and the architects themselves, suffered. Once they had become accustomed to this method of thinking, once they had become inured to the fact that effect was one thing and construction a wholly different and separate thing, their sense of architectural integrity was destroyed. They could only go on designing more and more different "effects," and building them in ways that had less and less relation to the design and became inevitably more and more shoddy as the desire for ostentation grew with the desire for cheapness. And the way was open for the whole disastrous late-nineteenth-century schism between architecture as design and as engineering, and for the dressing of steel skyscrapers in stylistic clothes. It was a schism ideally fitted to the ideals and desires of eclecticism; but it was the death of the essential qualities of the Greek Revival.

40. Published in Richard Upjohn's *Upjohn's Rural Archi-tecture, Designs . . . for a Wooden Church, and Other Rural Structures*, New York, 1852.

Professor Hitchcock has called to my attention the sev-eral excellent simple granite Gothic churches by Solomon Willard and Gridley Bryant which were built in Boston during the 'twenties and 'thirties, as examples of the same effort to build in accordance with real needs and materials. Willard's Bowdoin Street Church is a good example.

This, then, is my analysis of certain factors in that American architecture we call Greek Revival and Gothic Revival. Perhaps we are now in a position to essay some sort of evaluation of the contributions each made to the architectural tradition of our country, and through that gain some deeper feeling for the ebb and flood of the unquiet changing tides of artistic taste.

First of all, I think, we can allay a considerable amount of controversy between the enthusiasts for the one or for the other school—the Grecians and the Gothicists. Both styles, as used in America, were derivative, and both—on occasion, and in their best and most characteristic works—original in their interpretation. Against the "imitation Greek temples" (when they are not pure myths) can be balanced the much more flagrant absurdities of the "imitation feudal castles" like some that Davis set along the Hudson.[41] Against the wooden Doric columns of village houses one can balance the imitation stone vaults in lath and plaster of countless churches. Against the charm of freely designed "Greek" country houses one can balance the charm of many lovely Gothic cottages.[42] And for the exquisite, original Greek-inspired fantasies of the Lafever detail one has in the Gothic vein almost equally original Gothic details from the same hand.[43] Which you prefer becomes a matter of taste, not of right or wrong, false or true—perhaps merely a matter of personality type. There will always be those who like the simply formal, the obviously patterned, the consciously planned, the carefully composed, the unaccidental. And there will always be those who prefer the varied, the eccentric, the individual, the arbitrary, the informal, the accidental. The first will tend to prefer the Greek Revival, the second the Gothic Revival. No discussions can clarify a right or wrong in such matters.

Both styles made contributions to the American architecture that was to be. I believe they can be listed.

From the Greek Revival movement as a whole came:

1. A sense of architecture as a dignified and noble human expression, and accordingly a wide development and clarification of the architectural profession.

2. A widespread interest in architecture as an art.

3. A free approach to planning, especially domestic planning, as evidenced in the creation of a large number of new house types—L-, T-, or U-shaped, or rambling one-story houses like many in Ohio.

4. Restraint in detail, at times approaching the stark. Giedion in *Time, Space and Architecture*[44] has pointed out, for instance, the traditional American feeling for plain wall surfaces broken by frank cut-out windows. This is essentially a Classic Revival treatment.

5. Delicacy of detail—as evidenced by the wide following of Lafever's plates.

6. The idea of free creation on the basis of inspiration from many sources. One thinks of the Lafever plates, and of Mills, and of Latrobe's Corn Order.

7. Above all, and most important, a sense of the integration of *structure* forms with *use* forms and *appearance* forms. This appears especially in the monumental and vaulted buildings and, later, in the use of metal in Ammi B. Young's many post-office and custom-house buildings in the 'fifties.[45]

41. For example, "Ericstan," the Herrick castle (1855) at Tarrytown, shown in Newton, *op. cit.*, fig. 18.

42. For example, the Drake villa at Hartford, shown in *ibid.*, fig. 10.

43. As in parts of Holy Trinity, in Brooklyn.

44. Cambridge, Mass., 1941. See especially pp. 278-83.

45. It is true that the exteriors of these later Federal buildings of Young's are chiefly in a rather Italianate Renaissance style. However, it is my claim that the kind of thinking which produced his frank and daring metal construction was in spirit much more closely related to the daring masonry vaulting of earlier Greek Revival architects than to the lath-and-plaster Gothic of the medievalists.

8. Related to the last, a magnificent tradition of excellent building construction. The Greek Revival period was the only period in American architecture to make extended use of masonry vaults.

The contributions of the Gothic Revival as a whole are:

1. A kind of variety in three-dimensional, mass design previously unknown.

2. A careful study of the relation of building and site, a quality which Downing stresses continually—the unification of nature and man.

3. The development of a taste for varied, picturesque, dynamic elements in building composition.

4. The vast enrichment of the associative, emotional values of architecture, combined with a growing public appreciation of these values.

5. Increased skill in the handling of many types of interior spaces in conjunction—as in Lafever's Holy Trinity, or in many houses by Upjohn, Davis, or MacMurtry.

And there are negative sides to these contributions which may be listed. As I see them, they are:

From the Greek Revival movement:

1. The idea of a conscious turning to the past—and to a given part of the past—for controlling inspiration in artistic creation. This opened the way to the carnival of eclecticism.

2. Occasional insensitiveness to material as a conditioning agent of form—as in wooden orders designed like stone, or brick walls stuccoed and lined like ashlar.

From the Gothic Revival movement:

1. Complete separation of effect and construction—as in wooden battlements, wooden tracery, lath-and-plaster vaults, and buttresses with nothing to buttress. This was a large contributing factor to that separation of architecture and engineering which was the chief curse of nineteenth-century eclecticism.

2. The overemphasis of the *associative value* of architecture, until finally the sense of form itself was swamped in a rising flood of cloudy sentimentality.

In the light of this analysis, we should be able to realize how false, how frivolous, much of the attack on the Greek Revival architecture of America has been. A culture that was expressing itself in the works of Poe and Cooper, Irving, Emerson, S. F. B. Morse, Mount, Cole, and Allston could not, in architecture, be entirely silent or completely absurd. Much of what may be considered most valuable and permanent in American architectural tradition goes back to it—a sense of careful form, a search for dignity, a devotion to a kind of rational simplicity.

And the classic enthusiasts must realize, equally, the enormous enriching of the aesthetic sense of the country—the broadening of capacities for aesthetic enjoyment—brought to us by the informalities and the picturesqueness of mid-century Gothic cottages and Tudor villas and Gothic churches. The American architect, today, even if by temperament he inclines more to one side or the other—to formality or to informality—is aware of both sides. It is sometimes difficult for foreign architects or critics to realize this—to understand the depth of this double tradition, native and still alive.

Yet, though both Greek and Gothic Revival have helped make American tradition what it is, there is nevertheless a great difference between them. Here one comes into the delicate question of the *classic* versus the *romantic*. Professor Irwin Edman once said to me that

these two words had become so filled with contrary and confused meanings and connotations that they had become well-nigh useless, unless carefully defined for each use. In one (a generalized) sense, the architecture of the entire early nineteenth century is romantic in its retrospective yearning toward a half-understood past. Similarly, in poetry, the term *romantic movement* is used to cover the classicisms of Keats, the medievalisms of Walter Scott, and the rustic forthrightness of Wordsworth.

But the mid-nineteenth-century writers on architecture used the terms differently. Thus Downing, in his *Theory and Practice of Landscape Architecture*, writes:

Some ingenious writer has already developed this idea [classic and romantic corresponding to the beautiful and the picturesque] and, following a hint taken from the two leading schools of literature and art, has divided all architecture into the *Classical* and the *Romantic* schools of design. The Classical comprises the Grecian style, and all its near and direct offspring, as the Roman and Italian modes; the Romantic school, the Gothic style, with its numberless variation of Tudor, Elizabethan, Flemish, and Old English (p. 378).

In other words, to Downing the terms are basically stylistic; he correlates "classic" with Greek, Roman, and Renaissance forms, and "romantic" with medieval forms. This usage, like the broader usage noted above, is common today also. (It is, by the way, a pleasant etymological irony that Romantic derived originally from the city, Rome, and then came to signify everything that Rome was not!) But today this earlier simplicity—this, shall we say, innocence of vocabulary—is lost, and these two terms come to us loaded with a vast and confusing freight of connotations. Just look at the dictionary definitions![46]

Perhaps this partly accounts for the peculiarly bitter emotional quality that so often seems to surround any discussion of these matters, or to bring blind bitterness into any consideration of classic—that is, Greek, Roman, and Renaissance—forms in architecture. Victor Hugo's amazing passages in *Notre Dame de Paris* inveighing against the Renaissance that was to come;[47] Louis Sullivan's attack on the World's Fair of 1893[48] (so unthinkingly parroted by so many of his followers)—these are cut from the same emotional cloth; they are neither sound criticism nor sound history. What they are seems to me to be brilliantly personal lyricism torn from hearts anguished by unexpressed frustration.

What is this frustration? Is it possibly the frustration of a love of beauty *per se*—form, serenity, pattern? Is it the sense of the loss of some aesthetic innocence? Is it the feeling that, in a time of chaos and change, changing ideals themselves chaotic are the only ones men can have? (For me, on the contrary, it would seem that the time of chaos was especially the time for serene ideals of beauty—for the ideals will create the time to come, rather than the other way round.) Or is all this fine-spinning speculation on my part as fundamentally sentimental as the associative theories of Downing?

In any case, to return to the plane of art history and criticism, this much I believe we can say:

1. The word "Revival" in the terms "Greek Revival" and "Gothic Revival" is a

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46. Classic: 1. Of or pertaining to the first rank . . . 2. Of or pertaining to a coherent system embodying principles accepted as authoritative . . . specifically of or pertaining to the ancient Greeks or Romans or their culture . . .

Romantic: 1. Of or pertaining to romance . . . hence, fanciful or unreal. 2. Entertaining ideas suited to a romance . . . 3. Of or pertaining to the style of the Christian and popular literature and art of the Middle Ages, as opposed to the classic antique; characterized by freedom of fancy . . . 4. Characterized by picturesque strangeness and variety . . .

Romanticism: . . . denotes the principles, characteristics, or spirit of the *romantic movement* . . . for reasserting imagination and sentiment and emphasizing individualism . . . (Condensed from Webster.)

47. Book v, Chapter 1.

48. In *The Autobiography of an Idea*, New York (n.d.). The passage referred to is in the chapter "Retrospect," pp. 318-26.

fundamental misnomer, and its use is responsible for much bad history and worse criticism. Would "Greek-inspired period," and so on, be better?

2. The term "classicism" in the history or criticism of nineteenth-century American architecture is an exceedingly dangerous term. When used, it should definitely be defined as meaning merely "having to do with Greek, Roman, and Renaissance forms"—and nothing else.

The term "romanticism" should be utterly abolished in architectural writing for a period of years. Usually its place can easily be taken by "medieval" or "Gothic" for one set of meanings, and by "associative" or "emotional" or even "sentimental" for the other. I think writing on art would gain immensely in clarity from this change.

And I believe that, once this old, emotion-laden fight for labels is forgotten, we can come to judge more clearly of the origins of American architectural tradition. We can see it still today as a living tradition, to which the Colonial, the Federal, the Greek-inspired, the medieval-inspired, and even the eclectic periods have contributed. American architecture since the Revolution has only in rare cases been a matter of pure importation. It has reflected world-wide fashions and changes in taste, but reflected them in mirrors formed by its own history; it seems to me that today the best and most forward-looking American architecture is, as our architecture has always been, fundamentally our own—the expression of this deeply-based tradition.

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FIG. 1. Paris, Louvre: Louis Le Nain, The Forge

FIG. 2. Paris, Louvre: Gustave Courbet, Portrait of Champ-fleury, 1853

FIG. 3. Paris, Louvre: Gustave Courbet, L'Enterrement à Ornans, 1850

THE REVIVAL OF THE LE NAINS

BY STANLEY MELTZOFF

A SHARPLY defined change is valuable as a critical case for the study of taste.[1] A number of painters who had been completely forgotten after their deaths suddenly, in the middle of the nineteenth century, became great masters. Artists whose names or paintings even the best historians would have found it difficult to place, were turned into eternal geniuses in the space of a decade. Vermeer, Chardin, El Greco, Brueghel, Grünewald, and the Le Nains, to name only a few of the most familiar, underwent this process. The study of changes in taste is a corrective for the delusion that great art has eternal values. No one hesitates to show the dependence of a work of art on its milieu, yet it is too often forgotten that our critical evaluations of that art are just as dependent on circumstance. Each picture, embodying as it does thousands of choices between a "good" and a "bad" crystallized into visible form, is a concretion of the implicit morality of a time. The history of each painting is composed of revaluations of the choices of earlier generations by later ones. The history of a painting, the history of taste, is as important an instrument for the investigation of culture as the study of the act of creation, and is in some ways more precise. So specific are the choices in a revival that it is as if a new artist were created. This new artist corresponds to an esthetic of the period in which he is rediscovered. The study of these reincarnations—the Phidias of Winkelmann, the Leonardo of the Romanticists, or the Le Nains of the Realists—should be important to historians. Since the resuscitated Leonardo was a greater artist than the original, he deserves at least some study.[2] But the disappearances as well as the rediscoveries should be examined, for the loss of a painter should be as important to an art historian as the loss of a battle is to the political historian.

Nineteenth-century French revivals are convenient for this sort of study because France has presented historic forms in a most classic purity. Styles, as if guided by a perfectionist divinity, move parallel to political history. The Classicism of 1789, the Romanticism of 1830, the Realism of 1848, and the Impressionism of 1870 have each their own group of revivals. In the revival of the Rococo by the Romanticists, a whole generation dispelled the scorn in which a previous generation was held. Chardin was revived in the nineteenth century, just as he had been supported in the eighteenth, in opposition to the Rococo. The popularity of Chardin in the eighteenth century had been accompanied by a certain interest in the Le Nains, and, in the nineteenth century, the Le Nains were rediscovered by Champfleury on the heels of the revival of Chardin. The body of opinion which formed during the revival of the Le Nains was ready to welcome the discovery of Vermeer by Thoré-Bürger, who had only to collect his works. The previous disappearances of these painters has usually been blamed on the blindness of generations, and their rediscovery attributed to some critical genius. "Taste" was spoken of as a divinity who conferred insight on the spectator, just as "genius" lent fire to the creator. The executive messengers of the Muses were Taste and Genius, who sometimes took the form of serious little boys in a cloud, or, on a more vulgar level, appeared as lightning. But such persistent cultural ghosts do not aid

1. This article is based on a thesis prepared for the M.A. degree at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, under the direction of Dr. Walter Friedlaender. Dr. Meyer Schapiro of Columbia University and Dr. Robert Goldwater of Queens College have also helped me in more ways than it is possible to acknowledge.

2. Such subjects have been treated in the article of Dr. George Boas, "The Mona Lisa in the History of Taste," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1, 1940, 207-225.

us to a fuller explanation. Lightning no more causes thunder than did the genius of the Le Nains cause the revivalistic fury of Champfleury's change of taste. The explanation of the one must be given in terms of special physical conditions, and of the other in terms of particular cultural conditions and individual histories. Divinities and cultural ghosts may be used as metaphors, but they must not hinder the rational examination of causes.

The revival of the Rococo suddenly gathered force after 1834, and the retarding and cumulatively progressive factors which led to the selection of that date as a turning point may be disengaged. One may show in what way the little circle of Gautier and Borel, the Werewolf, became the instruments of expression of a much larger group. The rediscovery of the Le Nains was explicitly connected by their discoverer to the processes of the Revolution of 1848. The Le Nains were revived as instruments in the underground democratic struggle against the dictatorship of Napoleon III, and their revival intensified the conditions which brought it about. In the case of Vermeer, Thoré-Bürger, who had helped to create the conditions for the cultural availability of Vermeer, was led by these activities into direct contact with the paintings.

As one would expect, the individuals who promoted the revivals all stood at odds with society in some important respect. Gautier was an artistic revolutionary, and Borel a political one as well. Champfleury was as much a political as an artistic heretic, and Thoré-Bürger was primarily a leftist politician. It was not the supporters of the Bank of France, but the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries who served as the initiators of new tastes. Individual supporters of the established order might have peculiar tastes, but only those whose new tastes formed part of a larger pattern of deviations could find reason to make their private taste important to a public. The association of a taste with a larger pattern of interests and morality differentiates critical insight from an eccentricity. Du Sommerard, in collecting medieval antiquities, was mad in 1800, in 1820 merely eccentric, but by 1840 he was the patriotic national benefactor who had created the Musée Cluny. His mad companion amateurs of 1800 continued to collect broken dishes, old newspapers, bottle tops, and wooden blocks without the approval of society.

For a revival to take place, works of art must be both physically and culturally available. A body of works must be present before it can be evaluated, and a body of evaluations must exist before the objects can be understandingly seen. The eighteenth century had neither the tools, the concepts, nor the workmen for such a task. Even if some Rococo madman, through more than human effort, had been able to gallop to all the private collections, bribed his way to see the documents, independently invented the higher criticism necessary to understand them, remembered everything he had seen from his rough drawings, and finally, after labors that would have sainted a Benedictine, published his work privately, no one would have been interested. Good taste was not then synonymous with individual taste. After the French Revolution the nineteenth century developed the means for revivals. There was an increase in public interest in art, a multiplication of differences of opinion in these matters, and an implementation of these differences with means of expression. Joined to the growth of public literacy and public interest in critical matters, there was an enormous growth of art journalism and, later, art history. In a sense the new public ownership of museums turned every citizen into a collector. While the nineteenth century developed the tools and the concepts for art-historical studies, it also developed the systems of prejudice which determined the order of revivals. Each group sought its own historical justifications, for history rather than theology had become the oracle of truth and value. Each group, no matter how small, having a literate audience, a press, and the democratic habit

of free expression, sought its own precedents. For the first time an articulate grouping of tastes along the lines of social classes came into existence. It is more a metaphor than a fact to say that this train of circumstance started in 1789, and it is only a little more true to say that they came to a real focus after 1830. Still, one might multiply indefinitely the examples occurring after the Revolution of 1830 which point to an increasing interest in revivals and a growing capacity for them. Between 1830 and 1860 there was a series of shifts in taste, reflected at critical points by revivals. The rehabilitation of the Rococo served as an introduction to the revival of Chardin which helped to form the foundation for the rediscovery of the Le Nains, in its turn closely connected to the revival of Vermeer, and folk art. All of this was carried out by a small group of intimately acquainted Parisian writers, who formed a little nest of revivalists. The rediscovery of the Le Nains by Champfleury was the most clear and most central revival of the group.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE LE NAINS

The brothers Le Nain seem to have been well known to their contemporaries. A novel by Du Bail which spoke, in 1644, of three brothers in great vogue who painted ravishingly is proof of the popularity implied by the high proportion of school works to originals.[3] That Antoine and Louis were among the sixteen *primitifs* of the Academy at its formation in 1648, and that Mathieu was on its registers in 1649, shows them to have been at least respected craftsmen, although membership then carried little of the dignity of later times. Louis and Antoine died in 1648, and Mathieu was active until 1677.

After their deaths the official *grand goût* of the Academy which they had helped to found ignored such *bambocciata* as the paintings of the Le Nains. Historians considered them beneath notice, and the few references to the brothers Le Nain before the end of their century served only to hasten their oblivion. Félibien dismissed them with a brief sentence as: "Painters in an ignoble style of simple and unbeautiful subjects,"[4] and Florent le Comte followed Félibien with a still hastier phrase.[5] The paintings of the Le Nains had been acquired mostly by small collections too unimportant to catalogue or visit, so that their work, too, gradually lapsed into undocumented anonymity. So long as the classicism of Charles Le Brun and the *Poussinistes* prevailed, the Le Nains were increasingly forgotten. The attention given to them thereafter served only to accent their actual disappearance. At the end of the seventeenth century the growing ascendancy of the *Rubenistes* brought northern genre painting into favor, and with it came a certain interest in the brothers Le Nain. From Watteau and Gersaint the Rococo had turned to the little masters of the North. Flemish boors were translated into the more gallant and lascivious *paysannerie* of a Boucher, but at the same time the more sober, middle-class genre of Chardin, Aved, and Grimou depended on the Dutch. The appreciation of such painters included that of the Le Nains, who again began to be collected. Since the Le Nains had been almost completely forgotten as Frenchmen, they not infrequently passed in sales as Dutch. The Comtesse de la Verrue, who turned her boredom into an enormous collection of bric-a-brac, had a painting called "du Naim" among her Dutch panels.[6] Lancret, the Comte de Vence, M. de Julienne, and others in that era of extravagant collections owned paintings of the Le Nains,[7] but in such vast collections

3. P. du Colombier, "Un nouveau texte sur les Le Nain," *Beaux arts*, July 20, 1934. The novel is *Les galanteries de la cour* by Du Bail.

4. *Entretiens*, Vol. IV, IX.

5. *Cabinet des singularités*, Paris, 1699, III, 131.

6. Cited by Clément de Ris, *Les amateurs d'autrefois*, Paris, 1877, p. 178.

7. *Catalogue des tableaux de N. Lancret*, Paris, 1787; *Catalogue vente Julienne*, March 30, 1762. Indeed, almost every important collection had some work attributed to the Le Nains.

no particular attention was given to them. Mariette was one of the few people who noticed the Le Nains. In the lifetime he spent cataloguing the fabulous collection of the banker, Crozat, he came to know a few paintings of the brothers Le Nain and included them in his *Abecedario*.[8] From the records of the Academy, Mariette rescued what information about the Le Nains remained. Moreover he connected them with Chardin, writing: "The talent of Chardin is only a renewal of that of the Le Nains. Like them he has chosen the most simple and naive subjects. . . . They painted *bamboches* in a French style . . . knew how to handle a brush and had the art of blending colors to produce pleasing pictures."[9] But this knowing estimate of the best connoisseur remained unpublished until after the revival of the Le Nains.

Towards the end of the century, the *paysannerie* of J. J. Rousseau and the Hameau of Marie Antoinette showed that the simple peasant had become the model of fashion. The large village scenes of Jeaurat, Drolling, and Debucourt, free from erotic idealization, reflected a taste that included a quickened interest in the Le Nains. A score of engravings after works bearing their name appeared, and, after 1770, several Le Nains passed in sale each year.[10] The well known *Forge* (Fig. 1) of Louis Le Nain moved at increasingly high prices from the collection of the Prince de Conti, who had befriended Rousseau, to that of the Duc de Choiseul, only to be finally bought by that famous blacksmith, Louis XVI. In such circumstances dealers began to interest themselves in the life and works of the Le Nains. Jean Baptiste Pierre Lebrun, of whom Madame Vigée-Lebrun has left so unflattering a portrait as a husband,[11] was one of those most concerned. He sold a number of paintings of the Le Nains, including two to Louis XVI, and therefore mentioned them in his catalogues.[12] Instead of the usual formula of the cataloguers, "This is a picture of the best period of the Le Nains, and it is painted with the greatest verisimilitude,"[13] Lebrun once wrote: "We are astonished that historians have left us nothing on the lives and works of this able artist. He had several brothers, much inferior to him, who followed the same style."[14] Since even Mariette was unpublished, Lebrun's unusual curiosity remained unsatisfied. The Le Nains were not the only forgotten painters to whom Lebrun called attention. In his *Galerie des peintres flamands hollandais et allemands*[15] he called for the revival of Vermeer, De Hooch, Hobbema, and Hals. This constellation of tastes was to be repeated in the next century when Champfleury, the revivalist of the Le Nains, and Thoré-Bürger, the rediscoverer of Vermeer and Hals, dedicated their works to each other.[16] During the Revolution, Lebrun defended the "truth" of northern genre against the strictures of the Classicists, just as later Champfleury was to found a "school of truth" under the name of Realism. After the Revolution the *Forge* (Fig. 1) of Louis Le Nain remained in the Louvre, now opened to the public. Lebrun, with Lavallée and Hubert Robert, was on the new directorate of the Louvre. The publications of the new national museum did not overlook the *Forge*. In 1813 Landon

8. *Abecedario, ed. par Chennevières et Montaiglon*, Paris, Archives de l'art français, 1851–53.

9. *Ibid.*; see articles under "Chardin" and "Le Nain."

10. See Champfleury, "Catalogue des tableaux des Le Nain qui ont passé dans les ventes publiques de l'année 1755 à 1853," *Revue universelle des arts*, XIII, 1861, 383 ff.; XIV, 1861, 8, 97. This is a collection of all the references to the Le Nains in sales catalogues. Reprinted in Champfleury, *Les peintres de la réalité sous Louis XIII, les frères Le Nain*, Paris, Renouard, 1862.

11. *Souvenirs de Mme. Louise Vigée-Lebrun*, Paris, 1835.

12. Two versions of a *Repas de famille* unidentified, and the *Forge* now in the Louvre. It is difficult to tell which of

the many existing variants is the one mentioned in eighteenth-century catalogues, but since exact identification is not particularly important to my argument, I have let it pass.

13. Champfleury, "Catalogue des tableaux," *Revue universelle*, p. 392, Coll. Prault, 1780.

14. *Loc. cit.*, Coll. Poullain, 1780.

15. Paris, 1792, 2 vols., 200 pls.

16. The connection of these two revivals is to be examined in a forthcoming issue of *Marsyas*, publication of the graduate students of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

included it in his series of engravings of French masterpieces,[17] and Lavallée published it in his *Galerie du Musée* of 1814, calling it a "masterpiece of French painting."[18] Besides the notice given to the *Forge*, buried as it was among thousands of other reproductions, only occasional catalogue references called attention to the Le Nains. Against the few citations gathered here, there was the vast indifference of generations. In the hundred and fifty years between Félibien and Lavallée, a few sentences in works on art, a score of engravings, and a number of references in sales catalogues had appeared. Some local histories and biographical dictionaries, which it is difficult to believe that even the authors reread, contained brief references to the lives of the Le Nains, but none to their paintings.[19] Had the brothers Le Nain never existed it would not have made the faintest difference to the people of the 1830's.

Twenty years later they were to be numbered among the eternal glories of the French school.

THE HISTORY OF THE REVIVAL OF THE LE NAINS

The quiet years of the reign of Louis Philippe gave way to unrest in the 1840's. For a while after 1834, the forces that had won the Revolution of 1830, sick of the turmoil of forty years, were content to rest, although the swindle of the bourgeois monarchy satisfied no one. But in the 1840's, under the strain of financial crisis and unemployment, it became clear that nothing had been solved by 1830. In the first years of relative peace after the July Revolution, the politically neutral Romanticist youth, in the name of *l'art pour l'art*, had discovered the Rococo. Towards 1840, however, some of them again became politically active. A sentiment for an art that would reflect the life, if not the struggles, of the people arose. In contrast to the Faubourg St. Germain which had supported the Rococo, middle-class collectors and republican critics began to revive Chardin.[20] At the same time the patriotic and exotic scenes of the early Romanticists began to give way to a group of more sentimental and naturalistic genre paintings. Octavin Tassaert, the "Correggio of the Mansards," Trimolet, Travies, Meissonier and a host of forgotten others began to produce the genre of everyday life in such quantities that a special section was required for them in the Salons after 1845.[21] The revival of Chardin and the increase of realistic genre prepared the way for the appreciation of the Le Nains, but still another current helped to make them accessible.

A continuous but generally neglected stream of large, sober paintings of the lower classes had persisted in French painting from the time of Chardin. Jeaurat and Drolling, at the end of the eighteenth century, were continued in Granet and his pupil Jeanron. This genre began to be favored by the Romanticist flair for extraordinary types. Léopold Robert won a tremendous reputation for his scenes of Roman gods disguised as peasants of the Campagna; and at the same time Armand and Adolphe Leleux began to be applauded for their

17. *Annales du musée*, Paris, Ser. II, Vol. III, 1813, 19. "They failed at portraiture," Landon wrote, "and limited themselves to vulgar and often ignoble subjects at which they were successful."

18. *Galerie du musée de France, gravures par Filhol*, Paris, v, 1814, no. 344. In reference to the above statement of Landon, Lavallée argued that the surest road to decadence was to limit art to *peinture d'histoire*. This was a sentiment not foreign to the incipient realism of the David method. See Milton Brown, *Painting of the French Revolution*, New York, 1938, pp. 54–59, for an interesting discussion of the problem of Realism during the Revolution.

19. Claude l'Eleu, *Histoire de Laon*, MSS, Bibliothèque de Laon; reproduced in A. Valabrègue, *Les frères Le Nain*, Paris, 1904, pp. 9–11; Sauval, *Histoire et recherche des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, I, Paris, n.d., 340; Devismes, *Histoire de la ville de Laon*, Laon, 1822, Appendix.

20. See, for instance, P. Hedouin, "Chardin," *Bulletin de l'alliance des arts*, v, 1846, 185 ff., which may be said to have been the article whereby Chardin was revived.

21. See L. Rosenthal, *Du Romantisme au Réalisme*, Paris, 1914, pp. 416–20, for a partial bibliography of such artists. For a discussion by Rosenthal of the rise of genre, see pp. 375 ff.

almost documentary paintings of the exotic Bretons. None of the *Caravaggisti* whom Baron Taylor had brought back from Spain in 1837 caused more of a sensation than Murillo and his urchins. The impression Murillo and Ribera had made caused Adolphe Leleux to cross the Pyrenees in 1843 and bring back his much admired Spanish peasants. The resemblance of these large, dark paintings of peasants, done with a "Spanish" realism, to the paintings of the Le Nains was not overlooked. In the Salon of 1846 Adolphe Leleux exhibited a *Contrabandiers espagnols* (*Aragon*), and Armand Leleux showed a *Villageoise des Alpes*,[22] of which Charles Blanc wrote: "The brothers Leleux belong to that robust family of painters which in France goes back to Le Nain."[23] The Leleux, the young Courbet, and a number of other young painters were creating a new style out of Romanticism. Influenced by the newly arrived works of Murillo and Ribera, these painters began to use strong chiaroscuro to heighten the spatial and tangible immediacy of objects, in contrast to the Romanticists who used shadow for its emotional implications. Above all they tried to free their works from the theatrical gestures and compositional machinery of the Romanticist *peintres d'histoire*. They painted the portrait of their own surroundings rather than the remote in time and place. The style of the brothers Le Nain could serve as an historical precedent for these new painters, for as *Caravaggisti* they had painted large scenes of contemporary life. Courbet's *Après-dînée à Ornans* (1849) (Fig. 5) may have been done under the influence of the *Repas de famille* (Fig. 4) of Louis Le Nain, but at the same time it fits into his own stylistic development. The appearance of a new style permitted the Le Nains to be seen with new eyes. The revival of the Le Nains began when they were chosen as the ancestors of a favored modern school.

The realistic current of the Leleux was of special interest to Charles Blanc, for he and other young republican critics found its literal content honest and democratic. Among those associated with Charles Blanc in support of the *école démocratique* which developed towards 1848 were Théophile Thoré, Clément de Ris, Soulié, and Champfleury. One may guess that at least as early as 1845 Charles Blanc and his friends had been aware of the brothers Le Nain, for in that year Blanc announced a project for a history of French art whose purpose would be to "rescue forgotten figures."[24] Circumstances drew special attention to the Le Nains. Perhaps because the Le Nains were brothers they were associated with the brothers Leleux.[25] Moreover, the Louvre contained one of the most remarkable paintings of Louis Le Nain, the *Forge*, which not only attracted attention by its own merits but also because its subject matter began to be peculiarly attractive in those years. An iconography of the "forge," as the symbol of an art concerned with the celebration of the daily life of the people, had been growing since the *Forgerons de la Corrèze* of Jeanron in 1836, which had been greeted by Thoré as the first step towards a new popular art,[26] the *Forges de Forchambault* of Bonhomme in the Salon of 1840,[27] and the great *Forge* among the arts of peace in the *Chambre des Comptes* which Chassériau had begun in 1844. A forerunner of the iconography of the "forge" in the Louvre was sure to attract attention. In 1847 a minor genre painter, Haffner, had a *Blacksmith in the Style of the Le Nains* rejected by the

22. These were lithographed in *L'artiste*, Ser. IV, VI, 1846, 53, 85.

23. "Salon de 1845," *La réforme*, May 20, 1846. Cited by Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 384. Théophile Thoré, who called the Le Nains "unknown" in a catalogue of the Fesch collection in 1845, had become vaguely aware of them by 1846, for in Sec. IX of his "Salon" of that year he connected Decamps with them.

24. Announced in *L'artiste*, Ser. III, II, 1845, 6: "How

many wonderful people there are to bring to light, how many forgotten works must be dusted off."

25. This is Dr. Meyer Schapiro's suggestion, but Blanc wrote "à Le Nain" omitting the plural article and thus suggesting that he thought the Le Nains were one person.

26. "Salon de 1838," *Revue de Paris*, Ser. II, II, 1838, 269. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 389 for a discussion of the *Forge* as a symbol.

27. Thoré, *loc. cit.*

FIG. 4. Paris, Louvre: Louis Le Nain, Repas de Famille, 1642

FIG. 5. Lille, Museum: Gustave Courbet, L'Après-Dînée à Ornans, 1849

Salon,[28] and a few years later Armand Leleux also exhibited a *Forgerons* in the manner of the Le Nains. The attention given to this one picture of the Le Nains did not constitute a revival, but it began to prepare the ground.

Interest in the Le Nains was crystallized into a revival by the political events of 1848. Exactly two hundred years after the deaths of Louis and Antoine, the brothers Le Nain were changed from shadowy historical precedents to great monuments of the French school. In 1848 the struggle for equality, the right to vote, and the right to work took the form of revolutionary measures. Since the Revolution of 1848 was supported by a large majority of the intellectuals, any artist who democratically painted workers and peasants was assured welcome. Courbet, around whom Champfleury was to gather the Realist school, and Millet abruptly changed their styles to monumental paintings of the rural petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry.[29] When styles of living painters changed, so also did styles in the dead. A reëxamination of the stock of the Louvre on the grounds of historical justice was demanded by Clément de Ris and others, early in 1848. Among the unjustly disregarded French painters for whom Clément de Ris asked consideration were Vignon, the Boulogne, Fragonard, Patel, Pater, and the Le Nains.[30] The Louvre received a new directorate and it was rearranged on more just lines. The Le Nains were given the chance to be appreciated. The now famous *Benedicité* and an indecent Dutch *bambocciata* were found and shown as works of the Le Nains. A *Procession* sometimes given to Pourbus the Younger, and sometimes to Sacchi, was relabeled Le Nain. The rearrangement of the Louvre had been carried through without particular reference to the brothers Le Nain, but all of the directors were specially interested in them. The newly appointed director of the Louvre was Jeanron, whose own painting was in the current of the Le Nains. The curator in charge of exhibitions was Chennevières-Pointel, who was in the process of writing his long and valuable work on lost provincial painters, including the Le Nains.[31] Shortly after the new exhibition in the Louvre, the public was given an opportunity to see the Le Nains elsewhere. The annual exhibition of the *Société des artistes*, devoted in that year to the eighteenth century, included *La charette* of Louis Le Nain, then as unknown as it is now famous. Especially in the midst of the Revolution of 1848 it was in striking contrast to the Watteaus and Bouchers, a contrast that was to solidify into critical platitude. In a review of this exhibition, Clément de Ris, who had played a large part in the revival of Chardin, singled out the painting of Louis Le Nain as the oldest work present. He used the Le Nains and Chardin to attack the "futilitarian" painters of *fêtes galantes*, for he found that the unknown Le Nains had the rare merit of working from Nature in a period when almost no one did.[32]

In 1848, just when an attitude favorable to the brothers Le Nain intensified, they received a name familiar to the public and connected to a body of work. The shock of novelty and the promised rewards of discovery set several people to serious research. Champfleury,

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28. T. Thoré, *Salons de Thoré-Bürger*, Paris, 1869, I, 532.

29. It is interesting that Millet, who had been painting in various Romanticist manners, including that of the Rococo, and Courbet, who had been imitating the Spaniards and Venetians, both changed fundamentally in 1848. Courbet was active on one side of the barricades and Millet on the other, yet both began to paint monumental scenes of the daily life of the lower classes. The *Enterrement* and the *Angelus* were both painted shortly after 1848. It is to be noted that Millet tended to paint the working peasantry, while Courbet most frequently represented the rural petty bourgeoisie. Millet was much more widely and immediately accepted than Courbet, perhaps because it was possible to construe his peasants as religious beings, or as allegories of

the divine beauty of labor, while Courbet's less humble people stood as much more intransigent individuals.

30. Clément de Ris, "Le musée du Louvre," *L'artiste*, Ser. V, I, 1848, 39.

31. Champfleury, *Essai*, p. 16, accepts Chennevières' treatment of the Le Nains as provincial. This probably refers to conversation, for the Le Nains do not actually appear in Chennevières' book, *Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de quelques peintres provinçaux*, Paris, 1847. The book as it stands is incomplete and the presumed section on the Le Nains was not included.

32. "Remarques sur le musée du Louvre," *L'artiste*, Ser. IV, IX, 1848, 248; Ser. V, I, 1849, 39.

who had been interested since 1846, managed to publish first. In 1850 a brochure: *Essai sur la vie et l'oeuvre des Le Nain, peintres laonnois* appeared from his father's press in Laon. Shortly after this, Soulié, then curator of drawings in the Louvre, published an article on the brothers Le Nain in the *Magasin pittoresque*.[33] The appearance of such an article was the equivalent of fame, for the *Magasin pittoresque* had an enormous circulation. Soulié covered all of the facts known to Champfleury and added a few others. Soon afterwards, the *Musée des familles*, rival of the *Magasin pittoresque*, came out with "Les aventures d'un tableau des frères Le Nain."[34] It was a story of daring and virtue draped about the *Forge* in almost as cheap a manner as the writings on art of A. Dumas, *fils*. Several other illustrated magazines reproduced the *Forge* without comment in varying degrees of inaccuracy.[35]

In 1850, therefore, the Le Nains may be considered to have been revived. Their renascence differed in form from the previous revivals of the Italian primitives or the Rococo, which had started with an interest among artists or collectors and received attention first in the literary and artistic journals of the upper classes, and only at length, if ever, filtered downwards. But the vogue of the brothers Le Nain was due to their wide publication in cheap periodicals. Growing out of the conditions that led to the Revolution of 1848, starting in that year, of interest first to the writers of the republican left, and supported by popular periodicals, the revival of the Le Nains was to remain democratic throughout.

The brothers Le Nain were mentioned more and more frequently in the following decade, and they began, with Courbet, to take on the stature of masters. That frustrated genius, Chenavard, said in 1851, "I know of only three French painters: Le Nain, Chardin, and Courbet."[36] The *Corps de garde* of Mathieu Le Nain was ranked next to the *Night Watch* in the nocturnal genre by Paul de St. Victor, who demanded that: "Today when the Le Nains have regained their rank among the most pure and original glories of the French school," the picture should be purchased by the Louvre to place between the works of Bourdon and Valentin.[37] Through the efforts of Chennevières, the reference of Mariette to the Le Nains received publication in 1854. In 1857 Thoré praised the Le Nains in a discussion of the *Benedicité*, and called for a new French school to be based on Clouet, Poussin, Champaigne, and the Le Nains in opposition to the petty futility of the Rococo.[38] After ten years of publicity and research, Champfleury completed the revival of the Le Nains with a series of articles[39] reprinted in 1862 by Renouard as *Les peintres de la réalité sous Louis XIII, les frères Le Nain*. An appreciative section on the brothers Le Nain appeared during the same year in Charles Blanc's *Histoire des peintres*.[40] Shortly afterwards St. Beuve dedicated one of his famous *Nouveaux lundis* to Champfleury and the Le Nains.[41] Champfleury in turn gratefully dedicated to St. Beuve his final work on these painters: *Documents positifs sur la vie des frères Le Nain*.[42] Finally, the city of Laon held an exhibition of the work of the Le Nains in 1883 under the direction of Champfleury. By that time the brothers Le Nain had become so firmly fixed in art history that they were beginning to be forgotten once again.

33. "Les frères Le Nain," *Magasin pittoresque*, XVIII, 1850, 147.

34. In Vol. XIX, 1850, 194 ff.

35. *Magasin universel, Ruche Parisienne*, 1850. Unavailable to me, but cited by Champfleury in *Les peintres de la réalité*, p. 187.

36. Champfleury, *Grandes figures d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, Poulet-Malassis, 1861, p. 257.

37. *Catalogue de la collection George*, Paris, 1858.

38. Cited in Champfleury, *Les peintres de la réalité*, p. 51.

39. "Catalogue des tableaux des Le Nain qui ont passé en vente de l'année 1755 à 1853," *Revue universelle des arts*, XIII, 1861, 18, 19; "Nouvelles recherches sur la vie et l'oeuvre des frères Le Nain," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, VIII, 1860, 173, 266, 321.

40. *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: école française*, Paris, 1861.

41. "Les frères Le Nain," *Nouveaux lundis*, Paris, Lévy, 1865, IV.

42. Paris, 1865.

THE LIFE OF CHAMPFLEURY

It is easy to trace the course of Champfleury's (Fig. 2) life and the motives for his actions, since he moved in literary circles addicted to the writing of memoirs, and his life and friends form the constant subject of his books.[43] In the narrow provincial town of Laon, where he was born in 1821, he led a normally unhappy life, which he later romanticized into that of a sort of French Tom Sawyer.[44] His grandfather, a veteran of '89, and his father left him a tradition of opposition to the middle-class society of Laon. As a boy there, he saw Henri Monnier on tour in the provinces in the role of M. Prudhomme, the archetype of bourgeois stupidity, and this theme obsessed him thereafter. As soon as he could he ran away to Paris, and found a job as an errand boy for a book dealer. By reading everything in the shop he managed to educate himself. In this way he came to know the writings of Balzac, and on his errands he became acquainted with the painter Bonvin, who performed the same useful function for a nearby shop. Bonvin, as a *pasticheur*, was to lead in the revival of Chardin. Champfleury failed to establish himself in Paris and had to return to Laon. Two years later in 1843 he tried again and succeeded in keeping alive as a hackwriter. Until his death the embarrassment of his initial failure simmered in his brain, distilling the desire to scorn and impress the insensitive people of Laon. In Paris he joined the new intellectual proletariat called into being by the increase in journalism and the appearance of the *Roman feuilleton*. This group of writers differed from the Romanticists of 1830 in that they had to consider their art as a means of making their living. The liberty of expression of 1830, which had been won by people who could support themselves, had become an item for sale in the competitive market of the 1840's. The Romanticists of 1830 had been bohemians by choice, but Champfleury's friends were so by birth. In Murger's *Scènes de la Bohème* (1851), which set the pattern for the legend of the bohemian, one may savor the somewhat sweetened flavor of this hungry, Fourierist group of artists to which he and Champfleury belonged. They were still Romanticists, but the picnic air of 1830 existed no longer for these assorted beginners in the arts. Like the *petit cénacle* of Gautier and Borel, the Lycanthrope, the circle of Champfleury conceived of society as torn by a feud between the bohemians on the one side and on the other the vast, stupid, middle-class world. Champfleury never attacked the middle class from a politico-economic point of view, but rather considered himself an artist allied by sympathy to those classes and parties in opposition to the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. As his first masters, Champfleury did not choose those Romanticists who had become politically active, like Hugo or Lamartine, but rather those who had remained intransigent in the name of art: Gautier and Petrus Borel, the Werewolf.[45] Champfleury's first book, *Chien Caillou*[46] was a collection of bizarre and immoral fantasies in the manner of the Lycanthrope, or of Hoffmann.

The circle of Champfleury, despite its connections with the older Bohemia, was distinguished from it by a strong admixture of working class sympathies and origins. Murger had been introduced to poetry by Eugène Pottier, the author of the *Internationale*. In the

43. Champfleury's life and literary activity have been well treated in E. Bouvier, *La bataille réaliste*, 1844–57, Paris, 1914; P. Martino, *Le roman réaliste*, Paris, 1913; and H. Handel, *Champfleury, sein Leben und Werken*, Jena, 1935. I have found Bouvier's book to be most useful, and I have followed him unless otherwise indicated. Extensive personal documentation for Champfleury is to be found in Jules Troubat, *Une amitié à le d'Arthez: Courbet, Champfleury, Buchon; correspondance de Champfleury*, Paris, 1894;

and *idem*, "Lettres inédites de Champfleury au poète franc-comtois, Max Buchon," *Revue mondiale*, Ser. vi, cv, 1912, 38 ff.; Ser. vi, cxxxii, 1919, 331 ff., 701 ff.

44. *Les souffrances du Professeur Delteil*, Paris, 1853.

45. Champfleury made his literary debut in the *Corsaire-Satan*. The *Satan*, which soon merged with the *Corsaire*, was founded in 1844 by Borel. Baudelaire was also very strongly under the influence of the Lycanthrope.

46. Paris, 1847.

garret of Murger workingmen read their poetry to Pierre Dupont, to whose songs the barricades of 1848 arose; to Max Buchon, Courbet's schoolmate who was to become the muse of the peasants of the Franche-Comté; and to François Bonvin, who painted more simply and more dully than Chardin. Daumier and Monnier began to drink with them in the café in 1847. A personal introduction to Balzac during that year helped to color the early Romanticism of Champfleury. In the dedication of *Feu Miette*,[47] Champfleury accepted Balzac as his master. He became so close a follower that Madame Hanska asked him to put the master's papers in order for publication after his untimely death.[48] Of all the writers of the generation of 1830, Balzac and Petrus Borel, the Werewolf, were furthest apart, yet these two masters of Champfleury were linked in one respect important to him. The snobbish anarchism of the Jacobin Borel met the aristocratic snobbism of Balzac in a common hatred of the middle classes. Under the influence of the documentary technique of Balzac, Champfleury changed from the lycanthropic fantasy of *Chien Caillou* to the real world of *Les excentriques*,[49] where real people who were fantastic were accurately described. Such a change was in the direction of the Realism of the 1850's, wherein Champfleury was concerned only with the accurate description of real people.

From the first Champfleury had been interested in art. His earliest work had been as editorial assistant on the *Bulletin des arts* whose editor, Théophile Thoré, was to revive Vermeer. Beginning in 1846 Champfleury found a market for his *Salons*,[50] which he modeled on those of Gautier. In his *Salon* of 1848 he boasted that Gautier had overlooked the young painter of a *Nuit classique de Walpurgis*, Courbet.[51] When Courbet won sudden notoriety in the next Salon with his *Casseur des pierres*, Champfleury felt a proprietary pride. During the Revolution of 1848 Champfleury met Courbet on the staff of the short-lived broadsheet, the *Salut publique*, among whose editors was Baudelaire. In the process of defending and explaining the paintings of Courbet, Champfleury was to found Realism.

A new group, no longer Romanticist but Realist, formed around Courbet and Champfleury. As early as 1849 Champfleury denounced the "futilitarian" bohemians in Borel's own magazine,[52] and soon after he attacked the bohemianism of Murger.[53] The new group which met over the chops and beer of the Brasserie Andler still included Dupont, Mathieu, and Bonvin, but others had left under the pressure of success. Buchon and Thoré were soon exiled by the government and appeared only by letter. Drinking at their table, though not in complete sympathy with Realism, were Daumier, Corot, Chenavard, and Préault. Their company soon attracted a group of younger men who, in the late 1850's, were the evangelists of Realism. Castagnary, who became the biographer of the movement, was one of them, and so was Duranty, founder of the review, *Le Réalisme*, who lived to become one of the godfathers of Impressionism. Proudhon was connected with the group through his use of Courbet in the production of that famous bore, *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination sociale*.[54] The successive scandals of Courbet's *Enterrement* (1851) (Fig. 3), his *Atelier* (1855) and his exposition of Realism in competition with the World's Fair, brought notoriety to the little café circle.

Champfleury remained the theorist of the group as well as its most prolific writer. A

47. Paris, 1847.

48. *Documents pour servir à la biographie de Balzac: I, Balzac propriétaire; II, Balzac au collège*, Paris, 1875, 1878.

49. Paris, 1848. See the preface to the second edition of 1856 for an interesting explanation of Champfleury's change to Realism.

50. *Salons 1846-50*, Paris, 1893.

51. *Pamphlet*, Sept. 28, 1848. Cited by Bouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

52. "La Bohème littéraire," *Revue pittoresque*, VI, 1850, 8.

53. *Messager de l'assemblée*, April 11, 1851. Cited by Bouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

54. Paris, 1865.

deluge of essays, polemical letters, histories, and novels poured from his pen. *Le Réalisme*[55] was a collection of earlier letters, studies of peasant novelists, folk songs, and a defense of Courbet and Balzac, all mounted in a frame of aphorisms. He prepared with equal scrupulousness a history of cats, a study of Maurice Quentin de la Tour, and a survey of caricature.[56] Jealous of the success of Courbet, Champfleury used the esthetic he had worked out for his paintings to produce a series of Realist novels.

Towards 1860, this circle broke up, and the Realist movement gave way to Naturalism in literature, and Impressionism in painting. Soon after, Champfleury concluded his quarrels with Courbet by terminating their friendship. His Realism had weakened somewhat earlier, and even Courbet at Trouville (1865–66) was finding society beauties more interesting than stone breakers. Champfleury wanted nothing more than a life of respectable ease. A position as head of the museum of ceramics at Sèvres fell his way in 1872, and he retired to compile a bibliography of ceramics, and to complete his earlier projects.[57] His last work, like that of the dying Gautier, was a series of bibliophilic reminiscences of the Romanticist movement, *Les vignettes romantiques.*[58]

FACTORS IN THE REVIVAL OF THE LE NAINS IN 1850

Provincialism.—All of Champfleury's friends were interested in the brothers Le Nain, and enthusiastically welcomed their revival; Charles Blanc, Thoré, Soulié, Chennevières, and Clément de Ris must have contemplated their revival, yet it was the younger and less learned Champfleury who first published. Therefore one must seek the personal motives which would press Champfleury to be first to act, among all those interested in the Le Nains on more general esthetic grounds. Champfleury has explicitly given his reasons. More than once he wrote that he was interested in the brothers Le Nain as compatriots. To rescue the Le Nains from the unjust neglect of the Laonese was a kind of advance payment on his own immortality. His first book on them was called *Essai sur la vie des Le Nain, peintres laonnois*, and it was published at his father's press in Laon. In 1853, he announced that the continuation of his researches would appear in a volume to be entitled *Les peintres de Laon et de St. Quentin.*[59] Under that title there was published in 1855 a volume on Maurice Quentin de la Tour, another fellow townsman.[60] In the preface to his work on Maurice de la Tour, Champfleury wrote that he was interested in him and the Le Nains as neglected citizens of Laon.[61] This interest in his fellow townsmen, which his archaeological brother shared,[62] led him equally to the rescue of other Laonese. He defended Camille Desmoulins at inappropriate length against Marat and Robespierre in a history of the faïence of the French Revolution.[63] An articulate fury possessed Champfleury when, entering the gates of Laon, he found sculptured there the heads of thoroughly unimportant Laonese in the rightful place of Desmoulins or the Le Nains.[64] His indignation led him to bully the almost figurative museum of Laon into buying two doubtful Le Nains.[65]

It was not accidental that the Le Nains were revived by fellow townsmen. All the sources

55. Paris, Lévy, 1857.

56. *Le chat*, 5th ed., Paris, 1870. *Les peintres de Laon et de St. Quentin: de la Tour*, Paris, 1855. *La Tour*, Paris, 1886. *Histoire de la caricature*, Paris, 1865–80, 5 vols.

57. *Bibliographie céramique*, Paris, Quantin, 1881.

58. *Les vignettes romantiques, histoire de la littérature et de l'art*, Paris, Dentu, 1883.

59. Champfleury, "Les frères Le Nain," *Archives de l'art français*, III, 1853–55, 68–70.

60. See note 56.

61. Champfleury, *La Tour*, Paris, 1886, preface.

62. Champfleury's brother, Ed. Fleury, was president of the local archaeological society and published various works on Desmoulins and other notables of the region.

63. *Histoire des faïences patriotiques sous la Revolution*, Paris, Dentu, 1867.

64. Champfleury, *Documents positifs*, preface.

65. *Les accords de mariage*, acquired in 1861. *Portrait d'un jeune homme, Repas de famille*, acquired in 1855.

of their biography were published by compatriots. The Canon l'Eleu and the engineer Devismes wrote of them in histories of Laon, and Sauval in a history of Paris,[66] but the revival awaited a man interested not only in local history, but also in painting. Even those who, without knowledge of the origin of the Le Nains, were interested in them before their revival, were concerned with them as provincial painters. After 1830 there had been a rise of strong local patriotism in the provinces accompanied by the formation of provincial cultural organizations. In the Franche-Comté of Courbet and Proudhon, for example, what almost amounted to a separatist movement existed. Chennevières-Pointel, a leader in the organizations for provincial culture whose historian he became, began to publish a series of volumes on the forgotten painters of the provinces in 1847.[67] Chennevières, who had helped in the revival through his part in the reëxamination of the Louvre and the publication of Mariette, was interested in the Le Nains as well as in such other provincial masters as Finsonius and Varin. Champfleury acknowledged his help several times and accepted his treatment of them.[68] In reality the Le Nains were no more provincial than Watteau, but the provincial had long been valuable to the Romanticists as one form of the exotic. Chennevières, under the name of Jean de la Falaise, had published an early collection of the folk tales of Brittany,[69] which as the most foreign of French provinces was most interesting to the Romanticists. The literal description of the Breton peasant had formed the content of the paintings of the Leleux, in connection with whom the name of the Le Nains had first been raised again by Charles Blanc. While the provincial naturalism of the Leleux was to receive full expression in the Realism of Courbet, the brothers Le Nain, first mentioned as provincial ancestors of the Leleux, were to be fully treated by Champfleury as realist ancestors of Courbet. By that time Champfleury had become more interested in the Le Nains as Realists than as provincial painters, yet an interest in the provinces remained a constituent part of Realism, whose central theme was the collection and representation of provincial folkways.

Champfleury's esthetic in 1850.—A local interest led Champfleury to the Le Nains, but his interest continued on the more general basis of an esthetic which was still unclear in the *Essai* of 1850. In contrast, the final revival of the Le Nains was to be on the basis of a very specific esthetic. The text of the *Essai* consisted mainly of an analysis of catalogues and documents, so that only scattered passages permit the reconstruction of his system of appreciation. Even the little there was, was confused, for in 1850 Champfleury was in the process of transition from his early Romanticism to his not yet developed Realism. The *Essai* of 1850 was a separable mélange of all the influences present in the tangled morass of Parisian taste. The influence of Balzac stands distinct from that of Gautier and Baudelaire, in an indigestible sauce of the average esthetic of the *juste milieu* and the opinions of Champfleury's painter friends. Somehow distinct from all of this was his actual appreciation of the brothers Le Nain.

For example, a passage is inserted as a pure cadenza, in which painters are divided into the calm, such as Raphael or Poussin, and the "tormented," such as Delacroix, Rembrandt, Tintoretto, and Theotocopuli.[70] His preference for the tormented painters, especially El

66. Cf. the references cited in note 19; and, in addition, manuscripts in the library of Laon destined for a history of Lorraine by the Benedictine Dom Grenier.

67. Cf. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72, for Chennevières and the provincial movements in art. P. Chennevières, *Essai sur l'organisation des arts en province*, Paris, 1852; and his review *L'art en province*, founded 1835. See also P.

Chennevières-Pointel, *Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de quelques peintres provinçaux de l'ancienne France*, Paris, 1847, I.

68. *Essai*, p. 40. *Documents positifs*, preface.
69. *Contes normandes*, Paris, 1847.
70. *Essai*, pp. 36–37.

Greco, was a survival of the tastes he received from Gautier and Baudelaire in the period when he wrote of the mad fringes of society in *Chien Caillou*. Yet in opposition to other opinions of his Romanticist friends he had come to despise the boudoir art of Watteau and Boucher.[71] He preferred the true and moral art of Greuze and Chardin, and such Flemish (*sic*) painters as Terburg and Van Mieris, to all of whom he compared the Le Nains.[72] From Balzac he learnt to admire the simplicity and sobriety with which the Le Nains represented the *drame bourgeois*, an appreciation of which even such Romanticists as Gautier and Baudelaire had begun to share, half ironically, in the dedications of their *Salons* to the bourgeoisie.[73] Distinct from this was the closing sentence of Champfleury's *Essai*, "I desire the TRUE, the USEFUL, and the BEAUTIFUL as the sole possible basis for a new literary generation."[74] Champfleury substituted the "useful" for the "good" in opposition to Cousin or Gautier, but he did so without malice or forethought.[75] His actual judgments had quite a different foundation, for they were based on an eccentricity of type, a desire for specific truth, and a preference for the lower classes. The odd, the exact, and the unfortunate, were really his touchstones in 1850. Far from any esthetic standard of "beauty," Champfleury's contemporaries felt that he worked, rather, with an anesthetic of the ugly in dissecting his specimens. As for the "useful" he had insisted, and was to insist, that art was to have no other function than to be real. The "true" became his actual standard. His *Essai* was introduced with a program for the strictest and most detailed transcription of history. If such a desire did not prevent Champfleury from watering his facts with his imagination, it at least foretold the Realism to come.

His actual appreciation of the Le Nains was hardly connected with all of this. Champfleury admired the truth with which the Le Nains painted the grey, melancholy dignity of their peasants. But in 1850 his esthetic interest in the Le Nains was still peripheral to his local historical interest. In the battle for Realism of the next decade the polemical necessities of the argument caused the Le Nains to be changed from painters of Laon, to anti-academic, democratic forerunners of Realism, just as the style and content of Courbet were to change from something like the provincial naturalism of the Leleux to socialism and Realism.

Journalism.—The *Essai* of 1850 might have been promptly forgotten, but it was not. The brothers were fortunately revived by a man whose business gave him a new medium of publicity, a wide new audience, and a continual need to refer to the Le Nains. To treat so obvious a factor in a revival as its mode of publicity, is excusable here, for journalism played a more decisive role in Realism than in any preceding school. Champfleury, born of the vast extension of the press after 1830, fed himself by his writing. He was forced to support himself from week to week by articles that could be finished quickly enough to be profitable. Art criticism was one of the new fields rapidly opening.[76] A special competence, a quarrel, or a cause, were of great help in producing quickly salable articles. The De Goncourts, in

71. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

72. *Loc. cit.*

73. C. Baudelaire, "Curiosités esthétiques," *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, N.R.F., VI: "Salon de 1845," pp. 13–14; "Salon de 1846," p. 70; "Aux bourgeois," p. 183; and the essay "Du héroïsme de la vie moderne." T. Gautier, "Salon de 1845," *La Presse*, June 2, 1845; "Salon de 1846," *idem*, March 31, 1846. T. Thoré, "Salon de 1847," *Salons de Thoré-Bürger*, Paris, 1869. In 1844, *L'artiste* appeared with a new dedication in place of "Soyez artiste"; it read, "We write for those who live in the suburbs and those who work in the studios" (*L'artiste*, Ser. II, XI, 1844, 3). In 1847

Champfleury half-ironically dedicated the preface of *Chien Caillou* "aux bourgeois."

74. *Essai, loc. cit.*

75. *I.e.*, Cousin's famous "Du vrai, du beau et du bien."

76. The number of periodicals concerned with fine arts grew from one in 1812 to seven in 1843, while in the same period the total number of periodicals grew from forty-five to three hundred and ninety-five. The *Cabinet des amateurs* (1842–48) of Piot and Gautier was one of the first serious publications on art, but the first successful ones were the *Revue universelle des beaux arts* (1855) of Lacroix and Thoré, and the *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1859) of Charles Blanc.

Charles Demailly, describe Pommageot (Champfleury) in his one appearance as offering for sale a letter defending himself against an attack on his Realist principles.[77] In 1853, when Realism was in full cry, Champfleury wrote to his friend Max Buchon, "Realism was one of the best jokes of the century. There always was Realism,"[78] and he continues, implying that both the term and his theories were polemical necessities.

It might be said that the existence of the Realist school, as such, was the work of the journalists. Emile Bouvier has shown that when the great attacks on Realism began in 1851, the only extant works which might be called "Realist" were the *Casseur des pierres*, the *Remouleurs*, and the *Enterrement* (Fig. 3) of Courbet, a few poems by Max Buchon and Dupont, and some articles in their defense by Champfleury.[79] These violent attacks gave the school its name and its place in public memory. The direction of these attacks forced the opposing justifications, which became the principles of the embryonic school.[80] Only after Champfleury had discovered a program to justify Courbet against the journalists, did he decide to follow it in his own novels, and he became angry when he did not achieve the same success. The attacks occurred in the first place because the rightist press, in order to continue the battle against the defeated ideals of 1848, needed a straw man, since all open revolutionaries were in jail or in exile. So small and unprotected an adversary as the Realist group in the persons of half a dozen bohemian youngsters, whom no one knew well enough to defend, served perfectly as the butt of jokes to sugar-coat the dull promulgation of the moral ideals of reaction. Once the Realists were attacked, the Left, which could not come out in the open, rallied to their support. The Realist battle was fought on concealed grounds, which explains its surprising intensity. The brothers Le Nain were useful as the Poussin of the Realists, as the respectable pedigree which lent an air of historical righteousness to the articles which Champfleury had to turn out. The revival of the Le Nains at its beginnings was supported by the tabloid press rather than by more scholarly periodicals. The *Magasin pittoresque*, the *Magasin universel*, the *Ruche parisien*, and the *Musée des familles* published the Le Nains long before *L'artiste*;[81] and the revivalist, Champfleury, was a journalist rather than an art historian.

NEW FACTORS IN THE REVIVAL OF 1860

The Realist Esthetic in 1860.—When the interesting novelty of the Le Nains wore off in the journals, their continued currency was due to the use of their names as a symbol for the morality of a group. Each time that the name "Le Nain" was used, it stood for a whole system of esthetics, politics, and social relations. "Le Nain" became a sort of cultural password with which one identified friends. Since Champfleury and his companions had no pure esthetic, that is to say a system of disinterested preferences, but rather a sociological esthetic, or a series of interested preferences, the translation of their adjectives of appreciation is easy. The translation of an esthetic choice into a more general choice of good and bad, or of a disinterested choice into an interested one, was explicit for the Realists.

The last page of *Les peintres de la réalité sous Louis XIII*, written in 1860, was devoted to an appreciation of the Le Nains which summarized Champfleury's new esthetic. He admired the Le Nains because:

They liked the poor, preferred to paint them rather than the powerful, had the aspirations of a La

77. *Charles Demailly*, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1868, p. 34 (1st. ed. 1859).

78. Cited by Riat, *Courbet*, Paris, 1906, p. 142.

79. This is the burden of Bouvier's analysis; see especially *op. cit.*, pp. 249–57.

80. Bouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

81. That is, by 1850. See the preceding section on the revival.

Bruyère for the fields, were not afraid of the baseness of their subject matter, found men in breeches more interesting than courtiers in lace, obeyed their own internal feelings, fled academic teaching in order to put their own sensations better on canvas, and finally because they have remained, and will always remain three great painters, the brothers Le Nain.

In this passage there is no more vague talk of the "TRUE, the USEFUL, and the BEAUTIFUL" to cover the real grounds of his taste, as in 1850, but rather an explicit sociological esthetic based on the literal truth and a preference for the lower classes. Elsewhere in the book Champfleury evaluated the formal qualities of their art.[82] The Le Nains used only a few types, he wrote, put their paint on badly, drew things awkwardly in faulty perspective, disobeyed all the rules of composition, and were generally full of defects. Yet their naïve simplicity was deceptive, for in their faults lay their greatness. Champfleury observed quite brilliantly that their unacademic composition, free of the simplest laws, was a method of giving reality to their grouping. Their maladroit simplicity, their planar space, and their tart, Protestant color scheme had something of the austerity of a Poussin. They were good, Champfleury claimed, because they painted real things realistically, and they were bound to be popular because they democratically painted the poor.

It is clear that in 1860 Champfleury gave to the Le Nains the aims and methods he admired in Courbet. Just as Champfleury had turned the charges against Courbet into descriptions of his merits, so he changed the similar faults of the brothers Le Nain into their good qualities. In praising and defending the Le Nains, he was praising and defending Courbet and himself under the cloak of history. In so praising them he departed from the historic truth, much in the way Courbet's friends falsified the content of his paintings.[83] He gave the Le Nains anti-academic and populist sentiments beyond the possibility of their times. It only adds to the confusion to say that in 1862, Champfleury treated the brothers Le Nain as confirmed Realists, although he himself was hardly still a Realist, and although his favorite painting in 1862 was the *Corps de garde* rather than the much more Realist *Forge* which he had preferred in 1850.

Disregarding the question of Champfleury's personal instability, and accepting his words at their face value, let us examine the grounds on which the Le Nains were liked in 1860. They were praised for their verity, their democracy, and their naïveté. For the Realists these terms had so many special meanings, were so closely interrelated, and resulted in so many special preferences, that an extended analysis is necessary.

The Realist Conception of Truth.—Champfleury came to his ideal of truth through admiration of the method of Balzac, under whose influence he shifted from the invention of the fantastic to the accurate description of the eccentric. After the attack on the mere truth and triviality of Courbet's *Enterrement* in 1851, Champfleury turned the reproaches of his critics into the starting point of his dogma. In 1855 he published his first Realist novel, *Les bourgeois de Molinchart*,[84] in which the boring multiplication of the minutiae of daily life shows that his interest had shifted from eccentricity to the documentation of the average world. By this time the Realist conception of truth was complete. Their truth was not the conceptual truth of the Classicists, who were concerned with the perfect form of each idea or thing; nor was it the truth of the Romanticists who were concerned with the most intense form of each thing. To the Realists, truth meant the description of each thing in its particularity, and their reality was the summary of things. It was the familiar Positivist metaphysic, common to so many nineteenth-century radicals, including Proudhon.

82. *Op. cit.*, pp. 11–16, 133–34.
83. Lazareff has called special attention to this fact in his

The Brothers Le Nain (in Russian), Moscow, 1936, p. 7.
84. Paris, 1855.

Such a truth must value contemporaneity and completeness and abhor imagination. It is accompanied by anti-historical, anti-scientific, and anti-propagandist views. The manifestoes of Courbet, and the writings of Champfleury, repeat this in many ways.

Just as Champfleury extended the method of Balzac into a theory, so Courbet changed the famous phrase of Daumier, "One must be of one's time," from maxim to moral dogma. Courbet's manifesto of 1861 set forth both his own and Champfleury's principles of Realist painting.[85] For them, painting was the representation of visible and tangible objects, where "tangible" is to be understood not as Greek tactility, but as the opposite of hallucinatory, or visionary. Since Nature should not be improved upon, the role of imagination was limited to the search for the most complete expression of existants. Technique must not be allowed to dominate a painting for fear of falling into abstraction. Since artists could only paint truthfully what they saw about them, there must be no history painting. Thus not only *peinture d'histoire*, but also theological and propagandist painting was barred. For Courbet, liberty of expression meant the right to paint any section of his surroundings. Champfleury's literary principles were exactly similar, for the theories of both were largely worked out over beer together.[86] Since prose was truer than poetry, the novel was the highest form of art. The novel must deal with contemporary life, since the historical romance could not instruct the masses in the truth which science demands. The subject must be given by objective, impersonal, and verifiable description, without the use of imagination. Like Courbet's warning against the abstraction of technique, Champfleury warned of the danger of obscuring a fact by beauty of style. The sole aim of a work of art for both Courbet and Champfleury was to reproduce reality as faithfully as possible.[87] It was on such a basis that Champfleury admired the Le Nains. To him their prosaic reproduction of their contemporaries, each represented in his particularity, was their greatest merit.

Champfleury's demand for truth in art was even reflected in the historical method he used in treating the brothers Le Nain. He introduced his *Essai* of 1850 with the sentence: "The time has come when a school of truth which fears neither dryness nor patient detail, ought to take the place of those unconvincing biographers, those literary biographers, who make the men of whom they write picturesque."[88] Champfleury's "school of truth" was only a school of documentary and archival analysis. By 1850 such a method was not novel, but it was still quite rare in French art history. Even a cursory glance through the literature on art of the immediately preceding decades in France is enough to convince one that greater juvenility would be impossible. Arsène Houssaye, who was the great concocter of this fluff, turned out volume after volume by embroidering a passage stolen from Decamps or De Piles with his prose. Champfleury, at least, devoted a large part of his *Essai* of 1850 to an analysis of the records of the Academy, which, surprisingly, were still unpublished at that date.[89] Chennevières and Poirson had used the documentary technique somewhat earlier,[90] so that Champfleury was by no means unique, but he did something rather more unusual in the name of truth. Part of his *Essai*, and a good third of his *Peintres de la réalité*, were

85. *Courier du dimanche*, Dec. 18, 1861; quoted in full in C. Léger, *Courbet*, Paris, 1929, p. 86.

86. See especially the prefaces to *Contes domestiques*, Paris, 1856; *Les excentriques*, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1856; *Les aventures de Mlle. Mariette*, 3rd. ed., Paris, 1857; and *Le réalisme*. Bouvier and Martino have studied them at length.

87. *Le réalisme*, p. 310: "The goal of art is to reproduce reality." Champfleury was fond of aphorisms: "The supreme goal of art is conviction" (*Histoire de l'imagerie*

populaire, Paris, 1869, p. 298), and "I recognize only sincerity in art" (*Le Réalisme*, p. 3).

88. *Essai*, p. 5.

89. These were subsequently published by A. Montaiglon and P. Chennevières, *Mémoires de l'académie de peinture*, Paris, 1853; and Guillet de St. George, *Mémoires sur les membres de l'académie de peinture*, Paris, 1854.

90. A. Poirson, "Anciennes écoles de peinture en France," *L'artiste*, Ser. IV, II, 1845, 179 ff., and the above-mentioned work of Chennevières.

devoted to a collection of all the references to the Le Nains in sales catalogues. They are placed in chronological order, but absolutely no use is made of these references, either for attribution, documentation, or any other purpose. Champfleury published them not for any possible use or significance, but merely because they were true. "They are exact," he wrote, "and full of charm. Let us mock the pretentious people who deceive the public with artistico-socialist symbols, but let us hold in great esteem the patient seekers of the truth."[91] The bare truth here seems to be thought of as better than any socialist propaganda.

Realist Truth and Democratic Socialism.—The Le Nains were defended not only because they painted truthfully, but also because they painted democratically. They were valued because they preferred peasants to courtiers. The Realists themselves demanded more than a clinical fidelity to contemporary life, for they felt that some kinds of life were better to depict than others. Almost all the explanations of Realism, by its friends or enemies, were concerned with it as a social philosophy. Courbet, in 1852, said that he was "a socialist, a democrat, and a republican, above all a Realist, that is to say a lover of the real truth,"[92] thus identifying his socialism with his Realism. After a stay in Munich, Courbet, like Proudhon, was able to use Hegelian reasoning to connect his politics and his esthetics. He wrote:

Romantic art and classic art are both art for art's sake . . . According to my philosophy one must reason even in art and never let logic be overcome by sentiment. My expression of art is the final one because it is the only one that combines all elements. By carrying through my negation of the ideal and its derivations, I arrive at the emancipation of the individual, and, in the end, democracy. Realism is in essence democratic art.[93]

Later Champfleury also wrote: "Realism was a democratic aspiration, although latent and unconscious in some minds."[94] Although Realists felt that their art and their politics came from the same source, they did not in the least approve of a politically active art. Since their art could deal only with the truth, in the sense of a description of immediate facts, it could not deal with symbols of an unreal utopian future.[95] Their art could be propagandist only by implied criticism of the present in its choice of subject matter. The result was a sort of critical pessimism which characterized much of nineteenth-century art from Daumier to the American muckrakers. It had its basis in a distaste for the existing system combined with a Positivist distrust of theory. It resulted in the feeling that any amelioration of condition would come from the simple removal of the bad features of society, rather than from any fundamental reconstruction. Consequently the social duty of art was to point out the bad, rather than to suggest the good. The most objectionable quality of Courbet, in the eyes of his critics, was not his socialism but his "ugliness," on the basis of which he was called socialist so often that he came to believe it. A critic, Charles Perrier, at the height of the Realist battle, cried in sheer irritation: "Granted our age is ugly, but, good God! not that ugly."[96] Our eyes find it difficult to see the *Casseur des pierres* or the *Enterrement* (Fig. 3) as ugly, and even more difficult to see them as socialist. Yet both the friends and enemies of Courbet could see the "ugly truth" almost before they saw the picture. It was not that the critics of the Right were against truth as an esthetic ideal, but, just as the upper middle classes, after attaining the aims of the Revolutions of 1789 and 1830 for themselves, were not willing to grant them to still lower classes, so, on the plane of

91. *Essai*, p. 21. The last part of this quotation is a footnote of Champfleury.

92. Cited in Riat, *Courbet*, p. 72.

93. *Précurseur d'Anvers*, Aug. 22, 1861. Cited by P. Mantz, "G. Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XVII, 1878, 514 ff.; XVIII, 1878, 17 ff., 371 ff.

94. Champfleury's preface to *Chants populaires de la Franche-Comté, notice biographique par Champfleury*, Paris, 1878 (a posthumous work of Buchon).

95. Cf. Bouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 90 ff.

96. C. Perrier, "Du Réalisme," *L'artiste*, Ser. v, XVI, 1855, 85.

esthetics, the idea of a truth that described everyday life became distasteful as soon as the persons described belonged to lower classes. The Revolution of 1848 was fought—and lost —by the petty bourgeoisie, to gain such equalities as the right to vote. One of the demanded reforms which precipitated the Revolution was a proposal to double the electorate to a total of about 400,000 by granting the ballot to those who paid 100 francs in taxes, and to professional people.[97] If demands so innocuous to our ears could cause the raising of the barricades, one can imagine with what horror the equalitarian demands of the petty bourgeoisie, not to mention the workers or peasants, were met. When the political fight for equality was lost after the eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, it was carried on in the form of a struggle for equality of representation in art. Few criticised Courbet's Realist landscapes. The revolutionary act of the Realists in the eyes of their critics was that they admitted the lowest classes of society as social equals into the highest sphere of culture, the Salon. It was an act in as bad taste as if they had been shown into the parlor, and as dangerous as if they had been admitted to the polling booth. What was boorish in one Salon was no less so in the other.

The "socialism" for which the Realists were scolded was really equalitarian and populist. A letter by Courbet on the *Casseur des pierres*, widely damned and defended as socialist propaganda, described his stone-breakers sympathetically as picturesque, but contained not the slightest reference to socialism.[98] And Champfleury defended the *Enterrement*, which was actually a group portrait of the town of Ornans, by denying that it was socialistic, and denying that painting had any mission to expose social systems.[99] Yet both the *Enterrement* and the *Casseur des pierres* were seen by protagonists and antagonists of the Realists alike as socialist propaganda, although the pictures were only objective representations of the lower classes.

For Champfleury, the sole aim of a work of art was to be real. If in the real world the poor are most numerous, then truth requires that they be so in art.[100] Since they are by far the most numerous, Champfleury's simple materialism led him to believe that they were most powerful and most important. Therefore, Champfleury thought, the study of their daily lives would reveal the most important laws of society. For such beliefs the Realists were called, and believed themselves to be, socialists.

Quantity rather than quality was the standard of importance for the Realists in politics and truth. The multiplication of trivia was a quality which even the friends of the Realists found disturbing. Courbet carried his equalitarian sentiments so far that he was reproached, with some justice, for making his stones as important as his stone-breakers.[101] But his democracy of texture and vision gave birth, under the Third Republic, to the system of visual equalitarianism of the Impressionists.

Within this democratic neutrality both Courbet and Champfleury had definite prejudices. Both felt that despite the unjust neglect of the lower classes, the chief opposition in society lay between the bohemian and the bourgeoisie. A belief in the nobility of the artist, an aristocracy, so to speak, which the Realists had inherited from their Romanticist youth, came about as an extension of the eighteenth-century rôle of the artist as a moralist and philosopher. The belief that the artist has no superior, whether temporal or divine,[102] has

97. The electorate after 1830 was 190,000, or only slightly more than the number of foundlings, 120,000. The bill of Duvergier to increase the electorate brought on the parliamentary crisis of 1847, which led to the Revolution of 1848. One of the short-lived results of 1848 was universal male suffrage.

98. Cited in Riat, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
99. *Grandes figures*, Paris, 1861, p. 237.
100. Cf. Bouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
101. C. Perrier, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
102. This is a belief reflected in a great number of nineteenth-century paintings of artists behaving as equals of

as its converse the actually insecure and impoverished condition of the artist. The Realists were artists technically, but economically they were members of the petty bourgoisie, for they sold their finished products with difficulty, or worked for wages. The Realists were not only members of the petty bourgeoisie by birth, but also by position. With these two groups their special sympathy lay.

Courbet, who has gained a somewhat exaggerated reputation as a socialist, also believed that the chief contrast in society lay between the artist and the middle class. In his *Atelier, ou allégorie réelle, determinant une phase de sept années de ma vie artistique*, the contrast is between the people who lead the trivial, "dead life," and those who "lead the living, life-creating life." On the dead side are both the exploiter and the exploited, the priest and the worshipper, the peasant and the landlord, the native and the imperialist.[103] On the living side are the bohemians: Courbet's friend Champfleury, Baudelaire, Buchon, his patron Bruyas, and a couple representing free love. The contrast is between art and daily life, not between social classes.

The rural rather than the urban was the special concern of the Realists. The bitter struggle of the peasant and the rural petty bourgeoisie to consolidate the gains of 1789, which occupies so large a part of the *Comédie humaine*, was the actual social background of the Realists, whose families were middle-class provincials, descended from veterans of 1789.[104] Champfleury approved of the peasant novelist, Challes,[105] and disapproved of the worker poets in Murger's garret.[106] If Realists collected peasant songs, they never did as much for the Parisian argot. They equally disapproved of Balzac's concern with the commercial side of society.[107]

The brothers Le Nain, who realistically painted the rural petty bourgeoisie, met all of Champfleury's prejudices. He admired them because they liked the poor and painted them as equals, instead of caricaturing or sentimentalising them. And he approved of their *vérité* as the translation into esthetics of the political term *démocratie*. The democratic and impartial truth was the metaphysical face of the equalitarianism of the Realists. Even their method of representation had approved political connotations. Paul Mantz, a critic favorable to Realism, wrote of the method of Courbet and compared it to that of the Le Nains: "Courbet resembles the Le Nains, who also posed models like a photographer, saying, '*don't move*'."[108] Phrasing this in another way, Champfleury wrote that the awkward composition of the Le Nains, free of the most simple laws, was a method of giving reality to their grouping. The uncomposed quality of the *Repas de famille* (Fig. 4) is present in the *Enterrement* (Fig. 3). The pictorial "reality" of the Le Nains lay for Champfleury in the representation of objects next to each other, but not related by any arbitrary compositional scheme imposed by the artist. The stiff figures stand motionless so that they might be drawn from life by an artist who refused to invent. Their stiffness is accompanied by a psychological disassociation from each other and from the spectator. The result was like the necessary working method of the daguerreotypist of the 1850's.[109] Champfleury wrote of his

popes and emperors. Several hundred examples of such subjects as Michelangelo ordering Julius II from his scaffold, or Charles V picking up the brushes of Titian, or Leonardo dying in the arms of Francis I, might be collected.

103. The man kneeling before the Peruvian Indian may be either a trader or an official. Cf. M. Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, IV, 1940–41, 182, for a somewhat different interpretation.

104. The grandfathers of both Courbet and Champfleury were militant veterans of '89.

105. *Le Réalisme*, Chap. II, "Challes."

106. Champfleury, *Souvenirs et portraits de jeunesse*, Paris, 1872, p. 105.

107. See P. Presta, *The Social Attitude of the French Realists*, Urbana, University of Illinois, 1936, p. 4.

108. P. Mantz, "G. Courbet," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XVII, 1878, 518.

109. The actual Realist judgment of photography was somewhat different. Whereas Delacroix approved of photography and used it as an aid, the Realists thought of it as

literary method of work as if it were an automatic process: "What I see enters my head, descends to my pen, and becomes that which I have seen."[110] Courbet, too, pretended he worked with the automatic accuracy of a camera. A Realist novelist, Francis Wey, tells of watching Courbet paint a landscape, and of asking whether a certain splotch of paint was a bundle of faggots. Courbet answered that he did not know what the paint indicated, since he painted exactly what he saw without determining what it was.[111] Courbet felt that an artist should have a camera-like indifference to his work, saying: "A good painter ought to be able to erase and remake his best painting ten times in succession, without hesitation, to prove that he is not the slave of accident or of nerves."[112] When asked to draw caricatures of bourgeois types, Courbet said that he could not draw from imagination and insisted that a file of photographs from Goupil's studio be shown to him from which to choose.[113]

This type of representation was related to the political ideals of the Realists. The reactionary Barbey d'Aurevilly, an extreme Romanticist, sneered: "Photography, that democracy of the portrait, that equality before the objective (*objectif*)."[114] To the Realists this was praise. To have all things equal before the objective of the camera, or the objective eye of the artist, to give the petty bourgeoisie the privilege of the portrait, was precisely the act for which the Realists were called socialist, and it was the extent of their socialism.

In praising the truth of the brothers Le Nain the Realists were praising not only a type of representation of the world which they themselves used in their paintings, novels, and art history, but they were also praising an attitude of democracy towards a particular section of the world.

Truth, Democracy, Simplicity and Folk Art.—The Le Nains were praised by Champfleury not only because they were true and democratic, but also because of their simplicity, sobriety, and naïveté.[115] To the Realists the maladroitness of the Le Nains not only aided their representation of reality, and proved their democracy, but it was also valuable in itself. A very bizarre group of tastes were included in the Realist use of "naïveté" and "simplicity" as words of praise. As a Romanticist, Champfleury had been interested in whatever was direct, spontaneous, mad, childlike, or primitive. When, in the course of the Realist battle, folk art was raised from the level of a curiosity to the level of fine arts on the grounds of democracy, then all such primitive arts could be so valued. The appreciation of folk art was largely due to the Realists. In many volumes Champfleury, Buchon, and Dupont collected, praised, or imitated the people's arts. For the first time they gave folk art an independent value, free of ethnological or exotic interest. In doing so they helped in the eventual appreciation of such curiosities as the art of children, madmen, savages, and such painters as El Greco and Peter Brueghel.

Champfleury described his work in the preface to the *Histoire de l'imagerie populaire*:[116]

Moved by a latent logic which guides men without their knowing it, I published in 1850, in the *National*, a preliminary fragment on folk art. It was concerned with bar-room decoration (*imagerie de cabaret*), faïence, caricature, and many other things in a few stuffed and somewhat incompre-

a competitor. Champfleury was careful to distinguish realism in art from photographic realism. He wrote in *Le Réalisme*, "A man is not a machine and cannot render objects mechanically. The novelist groups and distributes objects; can a camera take so much trouble?" Cf. G. Freund, *La photographie en France*, Paris, 1936; esp. Chap. 5, "Les artistes et la photographie."

110. Champfleury, *Contes d'automne*, Paris, 1854, p. 23.

111. Riat, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

112. Quoted by Silvestre in his "Courbet," *Les artistes français, études d'après nature*, Paris, 1856, p. 269.

113. C. Léger, *op. cit.*, p. 134. The book to be illustrated was E. Baudry's *Le camp des bourgeois*, Paris, 1868.

114. Cited by E. Maynial, *L'époque réaliste*, Paris, 1931, p. 16.

115. While this article was being printed, Prof. Meyer Schapiro's admirable article, "Courbet and Popular Imagery: An Essay on Realism and Naïveté" appeared in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, IV, 1940–41, pp. 164–191. It must be read for a fuller understanding of the material dealt with here.

116. Paris, 1869.

hensible pages; but political events were so grave on the tenth of September, 1850, that the honorable director of the *National* was mildly worried about my fantastic divagations which had some connection with the political questions of the moment. Eighteen years were needed to put these ideas in more regular order (in these volumes):

> *Les chansons populaires des provinces de France*
> *L'histoire de la caricature ancienne*
> *L'histoire de la caricature moderne*
> *L'histoire des faïences patriotiques sous la Révolution*

and finally

> *L'histoire de l'imagerie populaire.*[117]

Champfleury continued the series with histories of caricature in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and completed it with *Le musée secret de la caricature* in 1888, a study of oriental drawings and prints.[118]

The people's arts were supported by the Realists on the equalitarian principle that all arts were equal, yet the Realists also gave them the positive value of simplicity. The idea of simplicity formed part of the Realist idea of truth and democracy. In praising the Le Nains for their simplicity, Champfleury had in mind the moral simplicity of the stoical French Left, the metaphysical simplicity of the Positivist preference for the simple fact in place of the theory, the psychological simplicity of the child and the naïve, the methodical simplicity of the spontaneous, the automatic, and the direct, the social simplicity of equalitarian democracy, the lower classes, and primitive society, and the artistic simplicity of caricature and folk arts. It would be quite beyond the bounds of this study to trace these interlocking currents except as they impinge upon the Realists, but it will be remembered that the *simple* and the *sobre* had been praiseworthy in France from the inception of the stoical Montaignesque current.[119] By Diderot's time they had become explicit virtues of paintings and social classes. To these words, used as praise, the eighteenth century added the idea of the simple personality, the naïve, and simple factuality, the true. Finally Rousseau brought to fashion the genetically simple; the child for the individual and the primitive for the group. Thus Mariette and Lebrun, in prefiguring the revival of the Le Nains, praised both their verity and their naïveté.

The rediscovery of the various primitives occupied the whole of the nineteenth century. The Gothic, the Quattrocento, and the Etruscan were appreciated as the earliest and consequently the purest form of already known arts. These archaic arts were thought of as documents of a period when the Church and the State were nearer to their divine source. Arts such as the Assyrian and the Mycenean, although mature in themselves, were also at first appreciated as archaic products of a floating fatherland of primitive arts, an *Archaïe*.[120] But it was difficult to appreciate colonial artifacts in this way. The transfer of exotic, colonial objects from ethnology to art has been traced in a very illuminating way by Robert Goldwater.[121] The revival of the national and theological primitives occupied, roughly, the first half of the nineteenth century, and the exotic ones, the last half. In addition to supporting the revivals of the archaic and the exotic, the Realists championed

117. *Chansons populaires des provinces de France; accompagnement de piano par J. B. Weckerlin*, Paris, 1860. Weckerlin was one of the pioneers in the collection of folk music. *De la littérature populaire en France*, Paris, 1861. *Histoire de la caricature*, Paris, 1865–80, 5 vols. *L'histoire des faïences patriotiques sous la Révolution*, Paris, 1867. *L'histoire de l'imagerie populaire*, Paris, 1869.

118. Paris, 1879.

119. See N. H. Clement, *Romanticism in France*, New York, 1939; Clement's last chapter, "Primitivism," deals in a cursory way with this question.

120. A term invented by Raymond Schwab in the course of a witty article, "La renaissance de l'archaïque," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XVI, 1936, 3 ff.

121. *Primitivism in Modern Painting*, New York, 1938.

a third sort, the class primitive, or folk art. Their revival of folk art came from a shift in emphasis of some of their earlier Romanticist tastes. They gave a new precision of content to the French current of *paysannerie*, and they gave a new evaluation to German philological and ethnological studies of folk literature. In France, the use of peasant subjects, whose place in the revival of the Le Nains has been discussed, was reinforced by the interest of the Gothic revivalists in the traces of medieval legends preserved by the peasantry as if in a glacial deposit. The folk song was collected as a remnant of the ballad, which like the *Niebelungenlieder* and the Arthurian cycle, were valued as souvenirs of the earliest form of the nation. The collection of the Grimm brothers was a mark of the new attitude of respect for the culture of the peasantry, reflected in the invention of the international term "folk-lore" in 1846. The Realists were to complete the shift of folk-lore from philology to literature, for Champfleury believed that the people, of their own nature, produced Realist art.

Folk-Lore and Literature.—In France the scientific study of folk-lore did not begin until the middle of the Second Empire.[122] Instead, folk tales were used as material for picturesque literature, interspersed with long descriptions of virtue and landscape. Chennevières and others associated with him in the development of the cultural life of the provinces gathered folk songs and stories,[123] but the *paysannerie* of Georges Sand remained the typical reflection of Romanticist interest in country folk. Towards the Revolution of 1848 two members of her circle, Pierre Dupont and Gustave Mathieu, left her tepid Arcadia for barnyard realism. At the same time another Realist, Max Buchon, who translated the Grimms,[124] began the translation of such German peasant realists as Hebel and Gotthelf.[125] Through his interest in these translations, Champfleury came to know Buchon. When, under such German influence, Champfleury developed his own Realism, which valued the daily life of the people for its own sake, he was prepared to give a new value to philological collections like that of the Grimms. Just as the poets of 1830 collected and imitated the medieval ballads preserved by the peasants, so the Realists of 1848 collected and imitated the contemporary folk song. The Romanticists were devoted to their nation, the Realists to their class.

In 1853 Napoleon III, cultivating his support which came largely from the villages, yielded to pressure and initiated a long overdue study of French folk-lore.[126] Fortoul, his Minister of Instruction, authorised the collection and publication of folk-literature. Ampère and Rathery, a professor and a librarian, formed the committee which began to publish its results in the official *Moniteur*. Real folk-literature was hardly distinguishable from the Realist work which was modeled on it. The government, which had already called the *Enterrement* socialist in its official press, which had forbidden Dupont to write, exiled Buchon, and censored the articles in which Champfleury had published folk material, was in a difficult position. Realising its blunder, the government stopped publication in the middle. Unfortunately, M. Ampère had printed the first stanzas of *La femme du roulier*, a rowdy ballad which had caught the fancy of the Realists. Having roared it out in studios and cafés and even in respectable bourgeois salons, to the blushing horror of those not ready to appreciate Realist art, Champfleury was ready and eager to supply the missing verses to the readers of the *Moniteur*. Except for one verse which even Champfleury found too

122. See the interesting article of A. Gitter, "Les études folkloristes en France," *Revue belgique*, LIII, 1886, 117 ff.

123. See the previous section on Provincialism.

124. *Contes populaires de l'Allemagne recueillis par les frères Grimm; traduction de Max Buchon*, Paris, n. d. (ca.

1855).

125. Buchon made translations of Auerbach, Gotthelf, and Hebel. Cf. Bouvier, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–213.

126. Gitter, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

robust, *La femme du roulier* was reprinted in a *Lettre à M. Ampère touchant la poésie populaire*.[127] He chose the occasion to summarize various small essays and give the Realist view of folk-literature. The peasants, for Champfleury, were natural artists and natural critics. Free of the prejudices, hypocrisies, and artificialities of the city,[128] the peasants could recreate the real in all of its simplicity. With the faith of a Jean Jacques and the optimism of a Dr. Pangloss, Champfleury believed that what was closest to nature was best, and that therefore the Realist work of the peasants was good. And, he argued circularly, the instinctive good taste of the peasants was proved by the fact that the *Femme du roulier* was a Realist work.[129] It was Realist dogma to believe that the people's art was the equal of any art, whether it had been produced by professional artists or by their peasant auxiliaries, and that the people were the best of all judges. Champfleury wished to reprint the peasant novelist, Challes, for "the readers of dime novels (*livres à vingt sous*), the true and only audience."[130]

To hold a new attitude in regard to folk-literature was, after all, no very great change. Those forms of peasant culture which had retained some distant echo of the Gothic in a language close to the language of the critics, had long been interesting. Folk art, however, had departed from the academic norm, much more than folk-literature, and it was much longer in finding support. To the Realists belongs the credit for the appreciation of folk art. The esthetic worked out for those arts served equally for the Le Nains.

Folk Art.—Just as the Romanticists had collected the folk songs of Brittany, so they had hung Breton shoes and shawls on the walls of their studies.[131] A similar interest in the odd and the fantastic first led Champfleury to folk art. A critic, Vitu, who had worked on several magazines with him, wrote in 1851: "Champfleury loves bizarre truths, the actual or the invented grotesque, and he carves with happy negligence all sorts of strange figures such as one finds on certain Gothic retables, in the Epinal prints, and in the boxes of toys from Nuremberg."[132] These were interests whose strangeness made them normal for a Romanticist, but already in 1851 Champfleury had written a defense of bar-room decoration, faïence, and caricature on the grounds of democracy and sincerity of expression. Held back by the difficulties of collecting in a virgin field, the pressure of earning a livelihood, of establishing his reputation, and of conducting the defense of Realism, it was long before Champfleury could turn such interests into books. Only after years of desultory research, was he able to publish histories of faïence, caricature, and the Epinal prints,[133] and to write a preface to a study of Gothic grotesques.[134] It remained to his friend Baudelaire to write on the philosophy of toys,[135] and to his friend Courbet to found the modern art of the bar-room nude with his *Femme au perroquet*.[136]

Thus, by 1850, the tastes which were to occupy the rest of Champfleury's life were present, but not systematically justified. The remainder of Champfleury's life was spent in rationalizing his youth. Before he was able to publish, a number of other works concerned with similar material appeared. For the most part they were bibliophilic essays, privately

127. Reprinted in *Le Réalisme*, pp. 184 ff.

128. Champfleury wrote, "The word *populaire* indicates to me the country rather than the city" (*Le Réalisme*, p. 192).

129. Théophile Thoré, on the whole much more rational than Champfleury, expressed this in another way by objecting to the unjust pretensions of the intellectuals, the *raffinés*, as judges (Thoré-Bürger, "Nouvelles tendances," *Salons*, p. xv).

130. *Le Réalisme*, p. 106.

131. Balzac, *Beatrix, passim;* Mlle. Destouches (Sand) appreciated her Breton home, scenery, and furniture for its exoticism.

132. *Messager de l'assemblée*, July 6, 1851.

133. See the beginning of this section, and note 117.

134. Preface to J. Adeline, *Les sculptures grotesques et symboliques*, Rouen, 1878.

135. "Morale de joujou," *Curiosités esthétiques*, first published in the *Monde littéraire* of 1853.

136. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

printed,[137] by collectors indifferent or hostile to the esthetic value of their material. They published after Champfleury's taste was formed. Just as in the case of M. Ampère and the *poésie populaire*, Champfleury's rôle was reduced to ideological revision rather than to a presentation of new material.

The police censor of cheap publications, Charles Nisard, gathered a fascinating mass of folk art used as illustrations for folk literature.[138] As an official of the government of Napoleon III, which had suppressed the unfortunate M. Ampère, he published his work in an effort "to show what harm this cheap, useless, and dangerous literature has done to public morals and customs, and to show how useful and moral books published under government supervision could do good."[139] His book, he wrote, demonstrated the baseness, triviality and ignorance of this form of art.[140] Nisard's *Histoire de la littérature du colportage* was illustrated with original woodblocks borrowed from M. Pellerin of Epinal and other publishers, or with careful reproductions of older and unavailable blocks. Beneath Nisard's disapproval of this form of art one may detect a scandalised amusement at the writings, but of the *imagerie populaire* he says nothing. If he had bothered to say something it would hardly have been favorable.

Champfleury, whose first reading had been the pulp literature Nisard condemned,[141] and whose own writings Nisard must also have censored,[142] gave to folk art, as to folk literature, an altogether different value.[143] The main part of the work was Champfleury's, although some of his friends also wrote favorably of the *imagerie populaire*. Max Buchon had briefly compared Courbet's spontaneity to that of the *imagerie populaire* in 1856,[144] and Gautier had spoken of the "*belles images d'Epinal*" and their charming simplicity in connection with the Genevan cartoonist, Töpffer,[145] but these were the most casual of references. Champfleury, who supported both Courbet and the cartoonists as direct and spontaneous, also defended folk art.

His attitude is given most clearly in the preface to his *Histoire des faïences patriotiques sous la Révolution* (1867):

I love the rude voice of truth. The peasant, having robust senses developed and strengthened continually by the spectacle of Nature, is fond of the charm of the natural; and the association of primary (*primitif*) colors is not revolting to him. What we call crudity is most enjoyable to him . . . Art is everywhere, in the hut as well as in the palace. It is necessary to look for it everywhere in all of its manifestations, in the Sixtine chamber or on the shelves of a toy shop. A Phidian bas-relief gives us other emotions than an Indian shawl, an Epinal print is not worth as much as a Holbein portrait, but it is not right to disregard these natural tastes.[146]

The crude and the primitive, the illegitimate brothers of the simple, have here taken on

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137. Sabourin de Nanton, *Imagerie Péllerin à Epinal*, Epinal, 1857; A. de Liesville, *Recueil de bois ayant traité à l'imagerie populaire*, privately printed, 1867; J. M. Garnier, *Histoire de l'imagerie populaire et les cartes à jouer à Chartres*, Chartres, 1869. For an extensive bibliography, see L. Duchâtre and R. Saulnier, *L'imagerie populaire*, Paris, 1925.

138. *Histoire des livres populaires de colportage*, Paris, 1854; 2nd. ed., 1864. Nisard also wrote a very interesting book from the same point of view on the Parisian argots, *Études sur le langage populaire de Paris*, Paris, 1872; and one on *Les chansons populaires*, Paris, 1867. His brother, Désiré, was the well-known anti-Romanticist who wrote a book on the Latin poetry of the decadence in which popular Romanticists figured under the names of Latin poets.

139. *Histoire des livres populaires de colportage*, 1854 ed., preface.

140. *Loc. cit.*

141. Champfleury, *Imagerie populaire*, preface.

142. *Aventures de Mlle. Mariette* was withdrawn by Hachette ("Lettre à M. de Villemassant," Nov. 13, 1856, published in *Le Réalisme*); *La succession Le Camus* was barred from railway stations; *La mascarade de la vie parisienne* was stopped in the course of publication. Cf. Bouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

143. Both Nisard and Champfleury acknowledged the help of Paul Lacroix, the Bibliophile Jacob, as indispensable. Lacroix was the partner of Thoré in the *Alliance des arts*, and one of the best-liked left-wing Romanticists.

144. M. Buchon, *Recueil de dissertations sur le Réalisme*, Neufchatel, 1856. The relevant sections quoted in full in Léger, *Courbet*, pp. 65–67.

145. See the following section on Gautier and Töpffer, note 148.

146. Paris, 1867, pp. v, 6, 21.

value. Champfleury considered the faïence of the Revolution not as a corrupt and decadent art, but as an art of renovation. For Champfleury the masses of the people were not the lowest part of the nation, but a group equal to others, with an independent art, taste, and culture.

Although Champfleury appreciated folk arts on democratic grounds, so that he would have praised them no matter what they were like, his admiration was reinforced by the actual nature of these arts. Their crudity was pleasing not only because it was theirs, but also because it was simple. He liked their color not only because it was bright but also because it was primary (*primitif*). Since he admired folk arts on purely formal grounds, he was able to transfer his taste from European to colonial primitives. In 1869 Champfleury made an astonishing statement: "I believe that an idol hacked from the trunk of a tree by a savage is closer to the Moses of Michelangelo than the majority of statues in the annual Salon."[147] This is certainly a criticism of contemporary French sculpture, but it is also an early transfer of colonial artifacts from ethnology to art. Insofar as it is not mere *boutade*, this sudden exoticism was a remnant of Champfleury's Romanticism, rather than a new development. It was part of a half-formulated body of tastes which were not to receive full expression until the Symbolist generation. Gautier, Borel, Baudelaire, and their follower Champfleury shared a vague but real taste for all those arts which departed from the academic order, such as the work of peasants, children, savages, and madmen.

The savage and the genius were similar in that they broke all rules, Champfleury wrote in the same passage wherein he had compared the sculpture of Michelangelo to primitive carvings. The freedom of folk songs from the rules of prosody had caused Champfleury to praise them, just as he had praised Courbet and the brothers Le Nain for their disregard of the rules of the Academy. Champfleury's Romanticist training had given him the taste for the direct, spontaneous, and simple arts. The wit of Gautier and Baudelaire delighted in shocking opinions which, often enough, predicted future taste. Champfleury, who adopted the one as his model, and the other as his guide, elaborated their half-jokes and justified them on principle. Gautier and Baudelaire were among the first to value the creative genius of the child, and to treat children's drawings with some seriousness.[148] The

147. *Imagerie populaire*, 1869, p. xiii.

148. Gautier connected children's art to folk art, primitive art, and caricature. In an article on the Genevan caricaturist, Rodolphe Töpffer, he wrote: "One sees that he has studied attentively the manikins that urchins chalk on the walls with lines worthy of the Etruscan artists in their grandeur and simplicity" (*L'art romantique*, Paris, 1856, p. 130). Gautier continued this passage by defending the *imagerie d'Epinal* on the grounds of simplicity and seizure of fundamental truths. Töpffer, of whose *Réflexions et menus propos*, Geneva, 1830–35, Paris, 1848, Gautier was speaking, had said much the same thing: "The drawings of Michelangelo as a scribbling kid were closer to the drawings of the immortal Michelangelo than were those of the apprentice Michelangelo" (*Réflexions et menus propos*, 1848, II, Chap. 21). Children's drawings are admirable, Töpffer wrote, because they are audacious and direct. In the same chapter, Töpffer praised schoolboy doodles, and for him "each peasant had style." In the work of genius, of children, and of peasants Töpffer found the daring simplicity he sought in his own drawings. In a Genevan artist, who in some respects was a progressive educator, this was not surprising. From Rousseau and Pestalozzi to Herbart and Froebel, the Swiss had been the first to treat the child not as a miniature feeble-minded adult, but as a more pure and natural being. While Töpffer was writing, Froebel invented the kindergarten. In teaching drawing Pestalozzi forbade the copying of engravings, which was then prevalent, and let the children draw in their own way. For these pioneers, the child was regarded as different rather than as inferior. The culture-epoch theory connected the state of the peasant to that of the child, and all these educators taught their children peasant handicrafts. At the same time as Töpffer, another naturalist and painter in England betrayed the same interests. Edward Lear published his *Nonsense Verse* in 1846, with drawings in imitation of the style of children. Lear, however, wishes us to be amused at rather than to admire his childish drawings.

The kindergarten came only slowly to France, but Baudelaire, the friend of Champfleury and Gautier, gave the child a more glorious crown. Baudelaire wrote an essay in which all morality and philosophy were derived from the child's relation to his toys (*Curiosités esthétiques*, N.R.F., pp. 225–35). Genius, for Baudelaire, was "the ability to recapture one's infancy voluntarily" (*L'art romantique*, Paris, 1868, p. 62). This view of genius as infancy recollected in ability, and of childhood as a state of genius, so common to the Romanticists, was accompanied by an interest in the childhood of real geniuses, and in child geniuses. Interesting in this connection is a series of paintings of great men as children, in a sort of transformation of the Christ Child iconography. I know of examples of Pico della Mirandola, Samuel Johnson, Napoleon, Giotto, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Veronese. Similarly, the nineteenth century repre-

Romanticist circle from which Champfleury came was fascinated by the divine inflatus which distinguished not only the genius and the child but also the madman.[149] The touring Romanticist asked to see the Gothic cathedral, and then the madhouse.[150] Writings of the insane were published, and such subjects as *Tasso in the Madhouse* became extremely popular.[151] Although the drawings of madmen were not collected, yet those artists who were notably eccentric won a special audience. Gautier was rushed past the El Grecos by the embarrassed Spaniards, but he saw enough to arouse his interest.[152] Eight inferior Grecos were in the collection that the Baron Taylor had brought back from Spain for Louis Philippe.[153] Largely unnoticed, they attracted the attention of Baudelaire and Champfleury, perhaps because they had been captivated by the passages in the *Voyage en Espagne*.[154] As early as 1847, in a story of a Spanish painter, Champfleury referred with interest to "the elongated figures, like a fresco in a madhouse" of El Greco.[155] Champfleury avowed his preference for "tormented" painters in his *Essai* of 1850, on whose back cover he announced his intention of writing a book to be entitled *L'étrange Theotocupoli*.[156] Such a work would have constituted the first revival of El Greco, but it never appeared.

Caricature was the most important of the Romanticist tastes which prepared Champfleury for the appreciation of folk art. Direct, spontaneous, and completely popular, it was at the same time the highest folk art and the lowest fine art. Gautier's connection of Töpffer with the Epinal prints has already been mentioned.[157] Champfleury's volumes on caricature far outnumber his studies of folk songs and folk art. His *Histoire de la caricature* began publication with the *sgraffiti* on antique drinking cups and continued through five volumes to Daumier.[158] It was the first extensive history of caricature as an art.[159] The influence of Daumier and Monnier on Realism have been too frequently studied to insist upon here.[160] Champfleury was at first concerned with the deviations of caricature from the norm, but later he valued its qualities of essential truth. Caricature as the most despised class of art was never admitted to the Salon. Champfleury accepted his intimate friends, Daumier

sented Jesus as merely a real child. In the Parisian circles from which Champfleury came, the admiration for the child began to take the form that would permit Corrado Ricci to collect and value children's drawings in his *L'arte dei bambini* (Bologna, 1887), and eventually permit the publication of "Bright Sayings" in the *Daily News*.

149. Miss Margeret Miller, of New York University, has shown how Géricault's paintings of the insane come just at the time the insane themselves were beginning to be painted as sick rather than as possessed. Her paper has just appeared in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, iv, 1940–41, pp. 151–163.

150. Duc de Levis, "Les hospices de fous en Glasgow," *Revue de Paris*, i, 1829, pp. 175–97. Scotch madmen were a wonderful Romanticist subject for one of the first issues of this important Romanticist review.

151. Delacroix, Decamps, Galliat, and Granet did paintings, Baudelaire wrote a poem on the subject. The Portuguese Camoëns in the madhouse was also popular, and Don Quixote belongs to this genre.

152. T. Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne*, Paris, 1843, pp. 15, 171. Cf. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of Painting in Spain*, London, 1848, i, 327–44. Stirling-Maxwell's failure to admire El Greco was almost against his own will. He had studied all the important Greco's in Spain, and bought four of the eight offered for sale by Louis Philippe in 1848. Nevertheless he considered El Greco to be in the worst of taste. He wrote as a condemnation of the *Baptism*, "He might have painted it by the fitful flashes of lightning on Midsummer's Eve from models dressed only in ribbons." In the mouth of Gautier or Baudelaire this would have been extreme praise. But Gautier saw so little of El Greco in

Spain that he hardly had a chance to make up his mind. To Stirling-Maxwell, El Greco was physically but not culturally available; his breach of decorum in painting might force the Englishman's attention, but never his affection. Gautier, to whom El Greco was culturally available, was unable ever really to examine his works. It remained for the era of neurosis, of Proust, Huysmans, Degas, and Barrès in France, and Freud in Vienna, to admire the painter whom the 1860's called "the most extreme example of madness in painting." When the neurosis became the test for genius, Greco became the "great forerunner of modern art."

153. Mayer, *El Greco*. Nos. 16a, 133a, 254, 332, 342, 347b, were in the collection Baron Taylor made for Louis Philippe. None was very important. Casimir Perrier owned two. Oddly enough, the other rare collectors of Theotocopuli were Millet and Degas.

154. Cf. note 152.

155. "Van Schoendel," written in 1847 and "Les Fuenzés" of the same year, collected in *Contes vieux et nouveaux*, Paris, 1852, pp. 181, 251.

156. *Essai*, p. 37.

157. Cf. note 148.

158. Cf. p. 279, note 117.

159. An earlier work was T. Wright, *A History of Caricature in Literature and Art*, London, 1865. This had none of Champfleury's enthusiasm for folk art. Baudelaire had such a project in mind as early as 1851, as his letters show (*Letters of Baudelaire*, trans. by Arthur Symons, New York, 1927, p. 37).

160. For a special study see M. Mespoulet, *Images et romans*, Paris, 1939.

and Monnier, as social equals, and he accepted their art as an esthetic equal. The Realists were themselves attacked as caricaturists. Courbet was criticised because his people and even his dogs were bastards and because his paintings were only caricatures, pretentious in their size.[161] In turn the Realists defended caricature as true, democratic, and spontaneous.

The connection of the naïve arts with the art of Courbet and the Realists was recognized from the start. Two caricatures by Bertall in the *Journal pour rire* of 1850,[162] united all the facets of Realist taste in mocking the *Enterrement* (Fig. 3) and the *Retour du marché*. Bertall redrew the scene of peasants returning from the market of Flagey in the purest style of eight-year olds. Under it was written:

Here is the REAL TRUTH without chic or adornment. No trace of the theatrical gestures of the Academy or of the absurd traditions of antiquity can be felt here. Everything is naïve, happy, and gay. Courbet painted it at the age of eighteen months.

The *Enterrement* was redone in an even more startling fashion. Except for the intrusion of the heads of the two deacons, drawn in the manner of Daumier, the drawing is surrealist, for it is a companion piece to the *Dog Barking at the Moon* of Miro.[163] An art like the conscious childishness of Klee and Miro was produced in attributing utter naïveté to the Realists. This caricature gives the key to the purely disinterested side of Realist esthetics. The Romanticists called their freedom from academic rules "Liberty," but their enemies called it "ignorance." The Gautier who drank brine from the skull of a tubercular maiden in "sheer disgust with the solemn stupidity of the bourgeoisie" was interested for the same reason in all those arts called by his enemies "ignorant," "naïve," "childlike," or "mad." But Champfleury, who began as a Romanticist, under the sting of such insults as Bertall's turned the quality of "ignorance" into the positive virtue of democratic simplicity. On the basis of simple, equalitarian democracy, and the simple truth, Champfleury praised the naïve arts. The unacademic order of folk arts became spontaneity, their crudeness became audacious simplicity, and their awkwardness became a more truthful representation of reality. The "crude" and the "primitive," the illegitimate brothers of the "simple" became words of praise in the course of the Realist battle. The naïveté, simplicity, and verity of the brothers Le Nain, hardly appreciated in 1850, became the evidences of their genius in 1860. The Le Nains were finally revived as great folk artists.

SUMMARY

History, as a branch of apologetics, should be prepared to say not only why the Le Nains were revived, but also why these revivals did not occur for other people at other times. If the reasons given here for Champfleury's evangelism of the brothers Le Nain are correct, them Champfleury should have been interested in all other artists who came from Laon, or who painted the poor in a true and simple fashion. If Champfleury's interest in the Le Nains may be explained by his class and political alliances, then this should be reflected in his attitude towards other artists. Maurice Quentin de la Tour will serve for this methodological test. Champfleury helped in the revival of this painter, whose memory had been kept alive in Laon by a scandalous reputation which reached the proportions of a folk epic. The revival of the Rococo by the Romanticists had created a certain interest in Maurice Quentin de la Tour, but in 1850 he was just as available for the revivalistic enthusiasm of

161. Louis Esnault, fulminating on the *Demoiselles du village* in his *Salon* of 1853 (Riat, *Courbet*, Paris, 1906, p. 98).

162. Reproduced in Grand-Carteret, *Les moeurs et la caricature en France*, Paris, 1888, pp. 550–51. Grand-Carteret was a rather close friend of Champfleury. Earlier

than this, Bertall had caricatured a landscape of Penguilly le Haridon in the same way and written, as he was to do for Courbet, "sans chic et sans ficelles." He did this illustrating A. Karr's *Les guêpes, Salon de 1847*, Paris, 1847, no. 437.

163. Gallatin collection, New York University.

Champfleury as were the brothers Le Nain.[164] The pastellist would have been the more popular subject, but Champfleury chose the Le Nains. Only when they had been attended to did he publish *Les peintres de Laon et de St. Quentin: de la Tour* (1855)[165] which had first been announced as a study of the Le Nains. Although this was the first full-length study of the Rococo master, Champfleury shamefacedly disavowed it:

I must say that de la Tour has only entered incidentally into my studies. My nature moved me towards more humble classes, less in the light; but as a sort of farewell glance to my province I collected the documents on La Tour as a kind of pendant to those I have patiently amassed on those less fashionable masters, the brothers Le Nain.[166]

Local patriotism guided Champfleury to both painters, but his democratic politics led him to prefer the Le Nains. The motives which led Champfleury to revive some artists militated against others.

This study has tried to show how Champfleury rediscovered the brothers Le Nain through a combination of purely personal motives and a body of general opinion for which he was, in part, responsible. As a journalist interested in his fellow townsmen he was first to publish the Le Nains. His class background and his early training predisposed him to accept the Realist principles which he was forced to formulate as the expression for a group in the course of the polemical defense of Courbet. Realism was used to defend the Le Nains, and they to defend Realism, and both were symbols for a larger social struggle carried on underground. Realism consisted of the belief in the special value of particular truths and a sympathetic alliance to the lower classes. Certain words of praise such as *simple, naïve,* and *populaire* were used to summarize these principles. Together these closely related beliefs were used to support the Le Nains, but separately they resulted in a number of other revivals. When a similar configuration of tastes existed in the eighteenth century, the Le Nains experienced a proto-revival; when later events brought about the same pattern, a renewed interest in the Le Nains resulted.

Taste has become increasingly rationalised into art history. The study of the continuation of a taste is important to art historians, but it is distinct from the problem of a revival. The examination of the Le Nains has continued in recent times as a sort of cultural botany. The nice problem of the distinction of their hands has attracted art historians from Valabrègue and Robert Witt to Jamot and Isarloo,[167] who have finally reached a satisfactory conclusion. The esthetic used in the revival of the Le Nains has had two offspring. The paintings of the Le Nains through the eyes of Jamot became altarpieces in the religion of the hearthside upon which France might rest free of transient political vicissitudes, but the more aggressive side of Champfleury's appreciation was continued in the one extensive foreign publication of the brothers Le Nain, the БРАТЬЯ ЛЕНЭН of Lazareff.[168] In this book the Soviet historian described the actual historical foundations for the democratic sentiments which Champfleury found in the Le Nains. These two currents were joined in the heightened interest which the Le Nains received during the years in which the *front populaire* took form. By that time, the once lost brothers Le Nain had become paradigms of French culture.

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164. Bucelly d'Estrées, *De la Tour*, St. Quentin, 1834, which was a memorial by an acquaintance of the painter; and the various works of Ch. Desmazes, esp. *Da la Tour*, Paris, 1854. Chennevières had mentioned him in his *Portraits inédits d'artistes français*, 1853; and there were passages on De la Tour in A. Houssaye's "La peinture du XVIIIe siècle," *L'artiste*, Ser. IV, II, 1844, 180.

165. Paris, 1855.

166. *De la Tour*, Paris, 1886, preface.

167. A. Valabrègue, *Les frères Le Nain*, Paris, 1904; Robert Witt, *Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures by the Brothers Le Nain*, London, 1910; P. Jamot, *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1929, and many shorter articles by the same author; Isarloo, *Les Le Nain*, Paris, 1938. Escholier, Voss, and Bloch have also helped.

168. Moscow, 1936.

BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

RECENT LITERATURE, CHIEFLY PERIODICAL, ON MEDIEVAL MINOR ARTS

PRE-CAROLINGIAN, CAROLINGIAN, AND OTTONIAN PERIODS

A. M. Friend[1] offers striking new evidence of what J. A. Bruun already suspected in 1897, that the Book of Kells was "produced under the influence of the Carlovingian Renaissance." A minute study of the iconography and the structure of the manuscript leads Friend to the conclusion that it must be dated after 800, and that both Kells and the Ada Gospels in London (Harley MS 2788) are based on the same Ada School model. The Beast Canons under arches with square spandrels, defective after the fourth table, appear in both manuscripts. Even pose, seat, and background in the Evangelist portraits are dependent on models of the Ada School (cf. Harley 2788 and the Ada MS in Treves). And also the miniature representing Christ surrounded by the Four Beasts and angels, as a sort of second frontispiece for St. Matthew, has its parallel in another Ada manuscript, the Gospels of Lorsch. Other reflections of the prototype of this picture seem to be preserved in the Sedulius in Antwerp, and in Poitiers MS 17.

In this study, which leaves one uncertain whether to admire more the factual results or the almost judicial precision and sharpness of the investigation, only two points remain doubtful: if Kells is dated after 800, is the stylistic difference between it and the preceding Anglo-Irish monuments really so great as to allow such a difference in time of execution? Friend does not mention a monument, especially dear to all students of Kingsley Porter's Seminar, which would seem to be very important for the solution of this question—the Coffin of St. Cuthbert, which was brought from Lindisfarne to Durham and which is probably not later than 687. (I am informed that E. Kitzinger has prepared a monograph on this object.) But even judging from the line-cuts in Baldwin Brown's *Arts in Early England* (v, 1921, pp. 404–408), we may conclude that the seated Virgin and Child and the Beasts represented on the Coffin are stylistically and iconographically more closely connected with the corresponding representations in Kells than with those on any other monuments. Secondly, Friend supposes that the very complete Canon Tables in the Spanish tenth-century Bibles represent the original version of the Beast Canons, which he thus considers to be a Spanish invention, taking for granted that a lost original is best reconstructed after its most complete and correct copy. This is possible, and it may be corroborated by another case—the seated Virgin in Kells, which has already been compared with a Spanish manuscript in Florence, Laurentiana Ashb. 17 (*Deutsche Literatur Zeitung*, 1931, p. 1076). But on the other hand, the occurrence of Beast Canons in early Spanish and Irish manuscripts may also be recognized as one of the many striking similarities between

the art of these countries, which may be caused either by Irish influence on Spain or by dependence upon a common archetype. Furthermore, Friend assumes that in the Carolingian period the Beast Canons were used only in the Ada School. But we know at least three manuscripts with Beast Canons before the Carolingian Renaissance: Autun MS 4; Rome, Barb. lat. 570; and Maaseyck—the two latter being, like the Coffin of St. Cuthbert, of Anglian origin. And since the Canon Tables of Ada and Kells also contain a writing Evangelist in place of the Angel in the Beast pictures, the existence of Evangelist portraits in the Tables of another Anglian manuscript, the Gospels of St. Cuthbert in Vienna, may be adduced. But unfortunately the documentary value of these manuscripts for the source of the figured Canon Tables is not exploited by Friend, who dismisses these pre-Carolingian examples as being "incomplete and full of errors" and hence without value for his discussion. These "errors," however, exist in the erroneous distribution of the Beasts, a rearrangement which an unthinking copyist might easily make (even the best Spanish Tables are not entirely free from these errors); or they may even be explained by the use of some other established sequence of the Beasts. The use of the Beasts or the Evangelist portraits under the arch of the first Table only, does not necessarily indicate that the remaining Tables are incomplete in this respect. The same arrangement occurs also in the Canon Tables of Berlin, theol. lat. fol. 3; Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 4, and Manchester, Rylands Library, MS lat. 10, all of which are based on the style of the illusionistic Carolingian Schools. The Rylands manuscript may even reflect an original redaction of the late fourth century (cf. C. Nordenfalk, *Die Spätantiken Kanontafeln*, Göteborg, 1938, pp. 196 ff., 274 f.). Should one not ask, therefore, whether these monuments do not rather indicate that originally the Beasts (or the portraits of the Evangelists) were depicted only on the first Table, possibly as a title-picture or frontispiece? A study of the Beast Canons in the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries may perhaps be revealing in this connection, especially as they also copy motives from other insular eighth-century manuscripts (e.g. the Lindisfarne Gospels).

Many other ideas and questions will be called forth by Friend's highly stimulating and important paper. Among these, only the problem of the Anglian connections and elements in Ada as well as in Kells can be touched upon here. First of all, several Ada manuscripts are decorated with the animals and interlacing of Irish and Northumbrian art. Furthermore, Gotha MS I. 21, from Mainz, which copies two Evangelists from the Ada manuscript in Treves, and two from an Anglian model, seems to be important for this problem. The same is true of Würzburg MS theol. fol. 66, and Erlangen MS 141, which in the portrait of John have the same seat-back with drawn curtains which occurs in the miniature of Christ in Kells and in Ada (Lorsch Gospels). (Lorsch possessed insular manuscripts of the eighth century!) Is it mere accident that the more Anglian Evangelist

1. "The Canon Tables of the Book of Kells," *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 1939, II, 611–66.

portraits of these two manuscripts, which originated
in a monastery founded by insular monks, recall
those in the Northumbrian Gospels with Beast
Canons, Barberini lat. 570? As a second possible
source for the picture of the seated Christ in Kells
and the Lorsch Gospels one might consider, besides
Poitiers MS 17, the Apocalyptic Vision in the *Codex
Amiatinus* of Wearmouth-Yarrow, which has also
the circular frame. (Christ in a circle, reminiscent
of this picture, occurs also in the Irish manuscript
of Bobbio in Turin which, stylistically, is closely re-
lated to Kells.) The motive of angels carrying a full-
size panel, based on the *Tabula Ancesta*, and the
uncertainty as to whether the figures are standing or
seated, occur also in the "Northumbrian" Gospels of
Thomas in Treves as well as in Kells. [For the *Tabula
Ancesta* motive in Irish art, cf. also the Gameboard
of Ballinderry Grannog (H. O'Neill Hencken in *Pro-
ceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1936, p. 175, pl.
XXV).] And the Treves Gospels contain also the
Cross page with the Beasts, which, according to
Friend, also existed in Kells.

It is, of course, premature to form any conclusions
as long as we do not possess a clearer vision either
of the interrelations existing between Irish and
Anglian art or of the Anglian sources of the Ada
style. (About the relations between Northumbrian
and Irish Gospel-books, cf. also F. C. Burkitt in
Antiquity, IX, 1935, 35 ff.) But we must ask our-
selves whether we really would accept so easily
Friend's assumption of a dependence of Kells upon
Ada, had he not so admirably discovered the break
in the very same place of the Canon Tables of Kells
and of Harley 2788. For, even before Kells, the Irish
artist "did not hesitate to intrude into the intended
dignities of natural portrayal the fantastic improb-
abilities" (T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 1936,
p. 158). And Ada and Kells may have used the same
models for their natural portrayal.

According to the latest publication on Irish art,
reference to which I owe to Miss Dorothy Harris,
"Kells seems to date about 780" (J. Raftery,
Christian Art in Ancient Ireland, Dublin, 1941, p.
44). At any rate, we must subscribe to what Fran-
çoise Henry said in her excellent book on *Irish Art
in the Early Christian Period*, London, 1940, p. 144:
"The conclusion of Mr. Friend, who practically re-
duces the Book of Kells to an imitation of a Carolin-
gian manuscript, cannot be accepted wholesale, but
he has certainly pointed out possible contacts."

An excellent analysis of the illuminations in the
Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of St. Gall and
Reichenau, and a study of their influence on minia-
tures, goldsmith-work, stone sculptures, and frescoes
in Switzerland (Dissentis, Chur, Münster, Naturne,
and Lindau) is given by Geneviève L. Micheli.[2]

For the problem of the origin of the cover of the
Lindau Gospels in the Morgan Library, cf. H. Arb-
man's valuable book, *Schweden und das carolingische
Reich*, 1937, in which he claims the work for England;
and T. D. Kendrick who, in his review of this book,
considers the cover as being possibly Danish.[3]

F. Rademacher[4] publishes, with thirty-two ex-

cellent plates, all the Merovingian gold brooches of
the Museum in Bonn. The text justly points out the
far-reaching importance of this material for Caro-
lingian and Ottonian goldsmith production, a fact
which is not yet sufficiently recognized by students
of medieval art.

The same author with good reason assigns the
cruciform frames of the gold coin of Justinian which
is affixed to the Egbert Shrine, and which is generally
believed to be of Frankish origin, to the atelier of
Egbert of Treves.[5] Only the garnet inlay remains as
Frankish work. But it is difficult to be entirely con-
vinced of the correctness of this thesis, and T. D.
Kendrick is probably right in attributing the entire
brooch of the Egbert Shrine to the same Frankish
atelier of the first half of the sixth century, and even
to the same goldsmith who produced the Wilton
Cross in the British Museum (*Antiquaries Journal*,
XVII, 1937, 283–93). Rademacher also explains the
significance of applying this gold coin of a Byzantine
Majestas; placed between the symbols of the Evange-
lists, it becomes a symbol of the *Majestas Domini*.
He draws attention to the somewhat similar composi-
tion of a medallion of Christ in the Northumbrian
Gospels in the treasure of Treves Cathedral, which
might have served as a model. But one should recall
the predilection of the Ottonian miniaturists of
Treves-Echternach for depicting Byzantine coins, a
fashion certainly inspired by manuscripts of Tours.
The comparison with the Merovingian Gospel-book
does not seem to be merely accidental. Rademacher
notices that two sides of the Shrine recall, in their
rhythmical arrangement of the ornament and in
many of their details, such "Merovingian" gold-
smith-work as the reliquaries of S. Maurice, Monza,
Enger, and Astorga, and the chalice of Sealand in
Nuremberg. The assumption of a connection of the
goldsmith atelier of Treves with Anglo-Saxon art is
corroborated by the Market Cross of 958 in Treves,
and by the architecture of Mettlach which, according
to Nordenfalk, is also related to English monuments
(cf. *Acta Archaeologica*, IV, 1933, 49 ff.).

The abundant use of red, blue, and green glass in
the works of the Egbert atelier leads Rademacher to
the assumption of the existence of a glass-atelier in
Treves at this period. He therefore interprets the
vitrum which Gerbert of Reims asked of Egbert, as
"glass" and not, as is usually believed, enamel.

In place of a review of Wilhelm Koehler's second
volume on the School of Tours, Carl Nordenfalk
offers three essays dealing with this school.[6] First, he
discusses the prototype of the Tours Bible cycle.
Koehler has ingeniously pointed out that the four
full-page miniatures which occur in the Moûtier-
Grandval and Vivien Bible (and also in the Bible in
S. Paolo f.l.m.) are copied from a Roman Bible of the
second quarter of the fifth century. But Nordenfalk
objects, I think rightly, to Koehler's excluding from
their supposed prototype the three other full-page

2. *Revue archéologique*, VII–VIII, 1936, 189 ff.
3. *Antiquaries Journal*, XVIII, 1938, 88.

4. *Fränkische Goldscheibenfibeln aus dem Rheinischen Landes-
museum in Bonn*, 1940.
5. "Trierer Egbertschrein, seine Beziehungen zur fränkisch-
karolingischen Goldschmiedekunst," *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XI, 1936,
144–66.
6. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der touronischen Buchmalerei,"
Acta Archaeologica, VII, 1937, 281 ff.

miniatures with subjects from the Old Testament which are preserved only in the Vivien Bible—and again in the Bible of S. Paolo. According to Nordenfalk, these miniatures do not differ stylistically in the slightest from the other four pictures which occur in both Tours Bibles. It is perhaps permissible in this connection to raise one more question. Should not the supposed Roman original also have contained illustrations of all the other biblical scenes represented in the sixteen additional full-page miniatures which appear only in the S. Paolo Bible? At any rate, the style and composition of these additional miniatures seem to me consistent enough with the other seven miniatures (four of which occur in both the Tours Bibles, the remaining three only in the Vivien Bible) to assume the same redaction for all of them. So far as we are able to infer from the preserved monuments, the late Roman cycles were extremely rich and detailed in illustrations of biblical scenes. (It is to be hoped that Mr. Paul Underwood of Cornell University will publish the paper on these problems which he prepared several years ago under the direction of Mr. A. M. Friend.)

Furthermore, Nordenfalk calls attention to the existence of a hitherto unknown illuminated Tours Bible, executed shortly before 846 and very probably belonging to the Abbey of S. Maximin, Treves. This Bible he is able to reconstruct, from thirty-four cuttings with initials (preserved in Treves, Vienna, and Berlin), which he compares with various miniatures, initials, and ornaments of a purely Tours character occurring in Ottonian manuscripts of Treves: e.g., Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 8851; *idem*, nouv. acq. lat. 1541; Treves, MS 839 and 1086; the *Registrum Gregorii*, Ghent, MS 96; Coblenz, MS 701/81; Berlin, MS theol. lat. fol. 756. In some of these we find exact copies, almost like forgeries, of Tours ornament; in others we have miniatures which can be derived stylistically and iconographically from models extremely close to the Vivien Bible. These statements can be corroborated by Boeckler's important previous observations that some of the miniatures of the Speyer *Codex Aureus* in the Escorial, produced in Echternach, were influenced also by Tours models in the style of the Vivien Bible.

The third essay deals with the development of the structure and the arrangement of the Tours Canon Tables. As a source for the later, post-Alcuinian Tables of Tours and their decoration, he refers to Tours MS 22, which was probably written in Fleury about 800. The earlier type, of the period of Alcuin, is derived from Anglian models and can be traced as early as in the *Codex Amiatinus*. (Valuable observations concerning the English origin of the first gathering of the *Amiatinus* are given by Nordenfalk in an appendix to his paper: "Vier Canones Tafeln eines spätantiken Evangelienbuches," *Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar*, 1937, pp. 40 ff.) Nordenfalk has pointed out that the motive of the angel blowing the horn, which occurs in the Apocalypse picture of these Bibles, illustrates one verse of the *titulus* of this picture. It may be recalled in this connection (and for the question of evidence for an Anglian Alcuinian cycle which might have influenced the Tours Bibles) that this

motive appears earlier in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

On the basis of Koehler's and Nordenfalk's observations and conclusions, H. Schnitzler tries to prove that the Tours Bible in S. Maximin, Treves, was the actual stylistic and iconographic model for the whole New Testament cycle of the schools of Reichenau and Treves-Echternach.[7] The late Roman style so successfully and uniquely reflected in the best works of these schools (the *Codex Egberti*, the miniatures of the master of the *Registrum Gregorii*) is no longer due to direct influence of monuments in the style of the Quedlinburg Itala-fragments, as we have always believed since Vöge, but is to be explained by virtue of one certain monument of Carolingian art which happened at that time to be in the Abbey of S. Maximin in Treves! The idea, fantastic as it sounds, is quite captivating. At any rate, we know Ottonian art is a renaissance of Carolingian. If Schnitzler is right we must admit, first of all, the existence of an enormously elaborate cycle with New Testament illustrations, not only in Tours but in this very Bible. It would be a case of extraordinary historical irony that not a single one of the many Old Testament scenes of the Carolingian Bibles was copied or used in Ottonian art, while the supposed illustrations of the Gospels, which do not seem to exist in the preserved Carolingian manuscripts, should be known only through their Ottonian copies. Of course, it is not impossible. The great Carolingian schools in all likelihood produced New Testament cycles. Schnitzler refers to the three modest representations in the Tours Sacramentary in Autun; and we may add similar representations in the Ada School, and the two more elaborate drawings in the style of the Utrecht Psalter in Düsseldorf, MS B 113, the Carolingian ivory carvings, and the reliefs on the paliotto of S. Ambrogio, Milan. But why this exclusive restriction to a single Carolingian school and, in fact, to only one product of this school? If we try to reconstruct the arrangement of the illuminations in the Bible of S. Maximin or in any other early medieval Bible, it is hard to find sufficient place for this wealth of New Testament scenes. Especially the very simple character of the initials in the fragments of the Bible of S. Maximin will hardly suggest such a luxurious decoration. At any rate, one would rather expect such a supposed New Testament cycle in a Book of Pericopes. Until now, however, such a book has not been found in Carolingian art.

To prove his point, Schnitzler applies the methods used by Koehler in his study of the School of Tours. But the method which Koehler employed so ingeniously for the reconstruction of his late Roman Bible of Gregory the Great is not adequately applied by Schnitzler, and consequently he fails to be convincing. The Bibles of Tours and the Ottonian manuscripts of Treves and Reichenau do not reflect the same late Roman style. Furthermore, the Tours elements in the school of Treves and the *Codex Egberti*, although they may be found in even more instances than those quoted by Schnitzler, are sufficiently explained by adaptations of style and composition. On the other hand, one should recall that the pro-

7. "Südwestdeutsche Kunst um 1000 und die Schule von Tours," *Trierer Zeitschrift*, XIV, 1939, 154 ff.

duction of Treves-Echternach is no less indebted to the other Carolingian and even pre-Carolingian renaissance Schools, Ada, Reims, Franco-Saxony, and Northumbria.

To his credit it should be said that Schnitzler emphasizes the iconographic unity of the New Testament cycles in the schools of Reichenau, Treves, and Echternach. But he does not consider whether the art of the Egbert Codex can be claimed from now on for Treves rather than for Reichenau.

Schnitzler's other new observations and contributions concerning the Middle-Rhenish, i.e. Treves and Mainz, origin of Ottonian metalwork must be accepted in so far as they emphasize western, Lorraine sources. His localizations of the Golden Altars of Aix-la-Chapelle and Basle in Treves-Echternach (in my opinion rather Mainz?), and the Crown and the Cross of the Roman Emperor, the *Portatile* of Henry II, and the Jewels of Gisela in Mainz are probably right. (I hope to be able soon to add a note of confirmation to this attribution. As for the Gisela Jewels, cf. also an excellent paper by E. Meyer.[8]) But Schnitzler goes too far in connecting the Ottonian bronze doors in Hildesheim and Augsburg with the Middle Rhine. The comparison of the bronze ewer of St. Stephen, Mainz, with the Augsburg doors is too general. (More interesting would perhaps be a comparison of the latter with the bronze ewer in Speyer, from St. Alban, Mainz.) And from a stylistic point of view the Ottonian, western elements of the doors seem to lie in Lower Lorraine rather than in Treves. To prove the point for Augsburg, it would have been better to draw attention to the personality of Froumund of Tegernsee near Augsburg (†1012), who wrote in Cologne a Boethius manuscript with miniatures in the finest Lorraine style; and also to the existence of the three almost forgotten Gospel-books with the signature *Uodalricus Peccator:* in Aschaffenburg, MS 2; Munich, Clm. 32630; London, Add. MS 2970.

The same may be said of a paper of H. von Einem.[9] He also proposes a new explanation for the style of the doors. He gives a sensitive stylistic analysis, but his arguments add little that is new to our knowledge of the monument. He imagines that Bernward of Hildesheim could still have seen on his travels in Tours Koehler's assumed Bible of Gregory the Great, or other late-antique Bible cycles which contain the scenes depicted in Hildesheim but missing in Tours, especially the sacrifice of Cain and Abel. In the greater dramatic rendering of the content, von Einem sees the contribution of Ottonian art. It seems to me that an approach which would consider the preceding and contemporaneous stylistic situation in Hildesheim and the whole region of Lower Saxony would come closer to a solution of the problem (Magdeburg, Fulda, and especially Corvey which could also boast, like Hildesheim, a bronze column). Panofsky (*Deutsche Plastik*, 1924, pp. 73 ff., pl. XI) has already compared the Crucifix of Bernward with the ivory panel of Adalbero II of Metz (984–1005) and has pointed out that the figure of Christ in the *Noli*

Me Tangere-Resurrection scene on the door depends on the corresponding figure of a Carolingian ivory plaque of the "Liuthard Group" in Weimar. Indeed, this observation can be duplicated by another "borrowing" from the companion plaque in Munich (Clm. 11019). The manuscript to which the two ivories belong originally formed one Gospelbook, with Evangelist portraits of unknown provenance which are strongly influenced by "Corbie." Usually these miniatures are attributed to St. Gall, but they should rather be considered as products of Lower Saxony. The connection of the ivories with the doors may also point rather to a North German provenance. Furthermore, we may ask whether the extraordinarily dramatic interpretation of the bronze reliefs in Hildesheim does not suggest acquaintance with the famous Terence illustrations in the Vatican, which were imported from Corbie to its new foundation, Corvey Abbey in Lower Saxony.

C. Nordenfalk[10] has made the discovery that the characters on the books, scrolls, and tablets of the miniatures of the "master of the *Registrum Gregorii*" in Treves and Strahow are tachygraphical figures. He has succeeded in deciphering them and has thus established a whole tachygraphical alphabet. He reproduces a second very similar shorthand alphabet which was discovered by B. Bischoff in a Regensburg manuscript (Munich, Clm. 14370). The logical assumption that the Regensburg scribe drew his inscriptions from these Treves miniatures is corroborated by the many historical and artistic relations which existed between the two Sees (cf. for example the miniature of the *Registrum Gregorii* with the engraved plaques on the Sacramentary of Henry II, Munich, Clm. 4456), and is confirmed by another manuscript of S. Maximin at Treves (Ghent, University Library, MS 247), in which Bischoff discovered the same shorthand alphabet which appears in the Regensburg codex.

C. R. Morey's well-known arguments concerning the date of the ivory panels of the Carolingian Gospel-book of Lorsch have been discussed by Adolph Goldschmidt (*Speculum*, XIV, 1939, 257 ff.) and W. Koehler (*AJA*, XLV, 1941, 321 ff.) in reviews of his catalogue of the ivories in the Vatican Museum (1936). Both reviewers agree in refuting Morey's conclusion that the upper part of the Vatican cover is Early Christian work of the fifth century. But one must admit that they did not have the opportunity to study, as Morey did, the dismounted panels. Morey's reasons for dating all the other carvings of the cover at the end of the tenth century, in the time of Saleman (972–998), already suggested by Graeven in 1901, and his localization at Reichenau, Goldschmidt regards as very impressive. Goldschmidt mentions a manuscript from Lorsch (Vatican, Pal. lat. 834) which is closely related to the Ada group, and suggests this Abbey as another possible place for the manufacture of these ivory carvings.

Every one will regret that Koehler, the best authority in this field, did not define in his review his position regarding Goldschmidt's suggestions. He flatly rejects the tenth-century date. For him there is no doubt that the Lorsch covers must be early

8. In *Das siebente Jahrzehnt, Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Adolph Goldschmidt*, Berlin, 1935, 19 ff.
9. "Zur Hildesheimer Bronzetür," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIX, 1938, 3 ff.

10. "An Early Medieval Shorthand Alphabet," *Speculum*, XIV, 1939, 443 ff.

Carolingian and not Ottonian. Of course, one would expect that we ought to be able to differentiate a Carolingian work from a product of a following or preceding period. But in spite of all the progress during the last forty years in method and in collecting material we must, unfortunately, admit that we have not as yet always attained the necessary certainty. (See, e.g., the indecision in dating the ivories of the so-called Chair of St. Mark, the pyxis in Vienna [Vienna, *Jahrbuch*, VII, 1933, 1–14], the ivories in Dijon and Montpellier [Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, III, 305; I, 149], the Milan diptych, the Xanten purple leaf [ART BULLETIN, XX, 1940, 7 ff.].) And what Morey said in 1929 about many pieces of Goldschmidt's Ada group, "that they have always awakened comparison rather with the . . . Ottonian period" still proves right. To approach a solution of the problem, one should compare the Lorsch covers with the ivory plaques of the binding of the Dagulf Psalter (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 3) which can safely be dated 772–795. We must ask whether the difference in style between the miniatures and covers of Lorsch is as great as the difference between the miniatures and their Ottonian copies in the Gero Codex in Darmstadt. And what is the date of the ivory plaque in the Metropolitan Museum which decorated the cover of the latter? (A. M. Friend once even suggested a pre-Carolingian date and a stylistic connection with the Ashburnham Pentateuch.) In favor of Goldschmidt's tentative localization at Lorsch may be mentioned the drawing of a Crucifixion in Vat. Pal. lat. 834 and some drawings in another Lorsch manuscript, Vat. Pal. lat. 935, which may be compared with the ivories of the Lorsch cover and the plaques divided between Florence and Berlin (Goldschmidt, I, 8, 9). For the problem of the localization at Lorsch it may also be of interest that the Dagulf Psalter with its ivory covers probably belonged in the tenth century to the treasure of Speyer Cathedral, only a few miles distant from Lorsch (cf. P. Lehmann, *Sitzungsberichte bayrische Akademie, Phil. Histor. Kl.*, Munich, IV, 1934, 5 ff.).

Furthermore, in this discussion one should draw attention to the undeniable stylistic differences which exist between the standing figures of the panels in London and the Vatican; and one should also recall the almost forgotten "replicas" of the Lorsch panels in Agram and Darmstadt. They have been regarded without reason by some experts as doubtful. To judge from the panel in Darmstadt (the only one I have actually seen), its stylistic differences from its companion-piece in the Vatican, especially noticeable in the treatment of the decoration of the arch and in the more linear stylization of the drapery, may best be interpreted as translations of the Carolingian model into Ottonian style. Do these panels and those of Lorsch, therefore, remain in the same relation to each other as do the miniatures in the Gospel-books of Lorsch and Gero?

The great, but much neglected, reliquary shrine in the Treasure of Sitten Cathedral, one of the truly important monuments of tenth-century silverwork, is for the first time completely reproduced by J. Baum (*Anzeiger f. schweizerische Altertumskunde*, N.F. XXXIX, 1937, 169 ff.). However, the historical place of the shrine is not at all recognized. Baum's comparison with the gilded silver cover from Sitten of a considerably later date (Victoria and Albert Museum) is not convincing. Far more plausible would be a comparison with the covers of the Sacramentary of S. Denis and the Evangeliary of Poussay (Paris, Bibl. nat., MSS lat. 9436 and 10514). The style of the figures of the Sitten shrine, as well as the whole manner of rendering the scenes, is still in the tradition of the illusionistic Carolingian schools—a fact which fits perfectly with the art-historical situation of Switzerland, especially the school of St. Gall. Furthermore, the location of Sitten on the road from France to Lombardy, which also might help to explain the style of the shrine, is not even touched upon. We know that some of the enamels of the paliotto of S. Ambrogio, Milan, are related to those on another reliquary in Sitten. There seems also to be a possible stylistic connection of the figures of the Sitten shrine with the reliefs illustrating scenes from the Gospels on the paliotto.

R. Eisler[11] tries to identify the three scribes depicted in the lower section of the famous Carolingian ivory representing St. Gregory (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 122) with three monks named Taebuldus, Fulbertus, and Amandus who copied a manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia* in the Abbey of Marchiennes about the year 1100 (now Douai, MS 303). This fantastic identification lacks the slightest evidence. After all, the plaque is early Carolingian. We do not know anything about its place of origin, although it doubtless belongs stylistically to the same atelier as the ivory diptych with liturgical scenes, now divided between Cambridge and Frankfurt (Goldschmidt, I, pl. LIII), which Nordenfalk assumes to be S. Omer work (*Acta Archaeologica*, II, 1931, 244). It would be vain to search for stylistic analogies or reflections among the known miniatures produced in Marchiennes during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

More serious, but also not convincing, is Eisler's attempt to explain the figures in the lower corners of the Evangelist portraits in the Reichenau Gospel-book of Otto III (Munich, Cim. 54). With the help of quotations from patristic literature, he assumes that the frontispiece for the Gospel of Mark represents not the Evangelist, but St. Peter dictating the Gospel to Mark and Sylvanus, and that the corresponding writing bishops in the frontispiece for John represent Papias of Hieropolis and Thimotheus, or the other Johannes (the pupil of the Evangelist), to whom supposedly the Gospel was dictated by St. John.

New attempts to explain the iconography of these visionary Evangelists in the Reichenau Gospels in Munich (Cim. 54), Rome (Vat. Barb. 711), and (omitted) the Utrecht Museum are made by Charles de Tolnay,[12] W. R. Hovey,[13] and W. Weisbach.[14] Tolnay gives a very sensitive analysis of their apocalyptic character, and says he has proved that

11. "Herkunft des Heiligenkreuz Elfenbeinreliefs," *Christliche Kunstblätter*, LXXVIII, 1937, 97 ff.
12. *Burlington Magazine*, LXIX, 1936, 257 ff., LXX, 1937, 195.
13. *Burlington Magazine*, LXX, 1937, 145.
14. *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XVI, 1939, 101 ff. *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XXI, 1939, 121 ff. *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, III, 1939, 1 ff.

"this type comes down from the antique God of Heaven." But if these Evangelists, holding spheres, and with their symbols over their heads, are to be associated with classical figures, it seems more plausible to connect them with the antique figure of Atlas, especially as the latter occurs frequently enough elsewhere in the school of Reichenau (e.g., Munich, Cim. 54; Liuthard Gosples in Aix-la-Chapelle) and in other products of Ottonian art. This fact has already been pointed out by W. Gernsheim in a Ph.D. dissertion on the school of Reichenau (Munich University, 1934) and elaborated upon by W. Weisbach. Weisbach, although he has to reject Tolnay's interpretation, seems so carried away by his idea of the *Coelus* that he interprets the white scroll held by the Four Beasts in the dedication picture of the Aachen Gospels as the Mantle of Heaven and quotes at length representations of Heaven in the schools of Tours and Cologne. It would take too long to give a résumé of Weisbach's many confused ideas and interpretations (mixed with half-truths), and as long as no one has succeeded in finding a coherent literary source for this great Ottonian invention, it seems more useful to look for more palpable prototypes. The Evangelists in question seem to be a synthesis: 1) of the Atlas motive, as already mentioned; 2) of the Evangelist holding the scroll which his symbol drops from heaven, a representation already formulated in Anglo-Saxon art; 3) of the Carolingian "Franco-Saxon" portraits where the symbols of the Evangelists are over their heads, in spheres surrounded by clouds. Furthermore, the representation of the visionary Evangelist enthroned in a mandorla surrounded by fiery clouds and flashes of lightning had already been formulated in the school of Reichenau to depict the Vision of Isaiah (Bamberg, MS Bibl. 76).

Dorothy Miner's article, "A Late Reichenau Evangeliary in the Walters Gallery Library" (ART BULLETIN, XVIII, 1936, 168 ff.), is a remarkably clear and careful discussion of the only Reichenau manuscript in the United States. Unmentioned by W. Vöge, this work was hitherto known to students only through the catalogue of the Library of Sir Thomas Brooke, Huddersfield (in which only one miniature was reproduced). Miss Miner's dating between the years 1040 and 1050 and her placing of the manuscript between those in Würzburg and Berlin is convincing. W. Gernsheim (*op. cit.*) arrived at the same results.

H. Buchtal[15] concludes from the iconographic similarities which occur in the Gospel cycles, in Syrian Jacobite illuminations of the twelfth century, and in those of the school of Reichenau-Echternach, that both derive from the same Greek models, now lost.

The miniatures of the Hitda Codex, one of the most important products of the eleventh-century school of Cologne, are studied and published by E. Schipperges.[16] The identification of the donor of the manuscript with the Abbess Hitda of Meschede (978–1042), and the general art-historical position of its miniatures in the school of Cologne, were al-

ready established by A. Haseloff in 1904. But no reference is given to J. Prochno (*Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild*, 1929, pp. 61 ff.), who, in accordance with Chroust, suggested a Westphalian origin for the manuscript and an identification of the donor with another Abbess Hitta of Meschede who is mentioned in the year 1101. A more definite placing of the Codex and a more precise study of its iconographic problems may be expected from A. Boeckler in his forthcoming publication on the school of Cologne.

Dr. Boeckler has published, in its original size and with good color plates, the *Codex Witichindeus* (Berlin, MS theol. lat. fol. 1), one of the very important tenth-century manuscripts of the school of Fulda.[17] Basing his work on E. H. Zimmermann's study of the school (1904), in which the dependence of the Evangelist portraits and Canon Tables of the *Witichindeus* on the Carolingian Gospel-books of Würzburg and St. Gumpert, Ansbach (Erlangen), was pointed out, Boeckler shows that the *Witichindeus* as well as the two Frankish manuscripts go back to one common prototype of the Ada School. But from this justifiable deduction he draws no further conclusions which would affect our former conception of the Carolingian production of Fulda. (It may be of interest in this connection to mention that a true copy of the Würzburg Gospels, dating from the eleventh century, exists in Würzburg, MS mp. theol. quart. 4.) Boeckler's very fine and careful observations with respect to the differentiation of the various hands which executed the Evangelist portraits of these Frankish Gospel-books can now be better followed in the reproductions of the Erlangen manuscript in E. Lutze's illustrated catalogue of the Latin manuscripts in that Library (1935), reviewed by Boeckler (*Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen*, LIV, 1937, 151), but not mentioned in this publication. Boeckler's new attributions to Fulda are the illustrations of the Life of St. Vigil in Berne (MS 264, hitherto assigned to the school of St. Gall), two excellent pen-drawings of the tenth century in Cassel (MS Astn. F 2, discovered by K. Christ, and here reproduced for the first time), and a Gospel-book in Augsburg (MS 6, with Canon Tables of the Würzburg type, but without Evangelist portraits). As the catalogue of the Augsburg manuscripts by B. Kraft (1934) contains the one and only existing reproduction of the latter manuscript—one which promises to be of special importance for the solution of the relations between the *Witichindeus* and the Frankish Gospel-books—it is regrettable that Boeckler does not give a complete account and reproduction of its Canon Tables. Certainly other Gospel-books must also have been illuminated in Fulda, although the preserved monuments suggest that this school may have specialized almost wholly in the production of Sacramentaries. It may therefore be of interest to mention three single leaves with one Canon Table and two Evangelist portraits in the Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, which may perhaps claim Fulda origin. And does not the Guntbald Codex of Hildesheim also betray Fulda influence?

Boeckler tentatively attributes to Fulda the beau

15. "Painting of the Syrian Jacobites," *Syria*, XX, 1939, 136 ff.
16. "Die Miniaturen des Hitdacodex in Darmstadt," *Jahrbuch des Kölner Geschichtsvereins*, LXXIX, 1937, and Bonn, 1938.

17. *Der Codex Witichindeus*, Cassiodorus Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1936.

tiful ivory plaque in Berlin (assigned by Gold-schmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, 41, to Treves), and seems to agree with the "recent localization at Fulda" of certain ivories of the so-called Liuthard and Metz groups. The "recent localization" is apparently a reference to a paper of K. Weitzmann,[18] in which he assigns to Fulda the Goldschmidt ivories I, nos. 52–55, 58–63, 65–68. But among this considerable group of carvings, stylistically somewhat disparate, only the four panels in Berlin (52–55) seem to me close enough in style to a documented Fulda product (Bamberg, MS A II 52) to justify such a localization. And in the figures of the caskets of Quedlinburg and Bamberg (attributed once by W. Vöge to the Rhineland!) there can indeed be felt a certain affinity with the probably later drawings of the Fulda manuscript in Cassel; however, the casket figures are not so strikingly related to the Fulda Sacramentary in Aschaffenburg, as Weitzmann seems to believe. But it appears to be significant for the whole stylistic evolution, first, that just these drawings have their closest relations in the Middle-Rhenish production which is nearer to the art of Lorraine (cf. the manuscripts of Mainz in Gotha, of Lorsch in the Vatican, and a single leaf with drawings, probably for goldsmith work, in private possession in Basle); and secondly, that the Lower Saxon monasteries possessed imported Carolingian ivories and manuscripts of Lorraine and other French ateliers (e.g., the Vatican Terence from Corvey, the ivory plaques in Weimar and Munich already mentioned [Goldschmidt, I, 43, 44], and the Gospel-book of Gandersheim [Feste Coburg]). Neither Weitzmann's reference to the famous letter of Eigulf to Rabanus about the Vitruvian models of columns in ivory, nor his assumption of Early Christian models used as prototypes for ivory-carvers in Fulda, can in themselves establish the existence of a Fulda School. His comparison of the sixth-century ivory panel in Berlin with the iconographically corresponding plaque on the cover of the Fulda Missal in Munich does not advance his theory. (Goldschmidt and Morey, years ago, with more reason compared the same Early Christian ivory with the Carolingian panel in the Bodleian, Goldschmidt, I, 5.) Of course, many of Goldschmidt's attributions will be subject to change in the course of time, and the problem of the re-localization of many ivories to Lower Saxony (even if not precisely to Fulda) still remains. There need only be mentioned the casket in Berlin, the other casket in Quedlinburg (Goldschmidt, I, 147, 101), and the cover of the *Codex Witichindeus* itself, which probably is, in my opinion, Magdeburg work. However that may be, any new localizations of these carvings, if they are to be more convincing than those attempted by Vöge and Goldschmidt, must depend upon better stylistic and historical evidence than has been presented so far.

It is regrettable, in this connection, that Boeckler did not pursue further his interesting and cogent observations concerning the stylistic relations of Fulda with the preceding illusionistic Carolingian schools and with the contemporaneous regional products of Lower Saxony (Corvey, Hildesheim, Magdeburg). (It may be added that the fragmentary Gospel-book of Höxter, Paderborn MS 8, belonging to the same group of Lower Saxon [Corvey?] manuscripts which Boeckler considers to have exerted a stylistic influence upon Fulda, has now been published in Chroust's *Monumenta Palaeographica*, III, XVII, 1937, pl. 4, with text by E. Meyer.) Two of the most important manuscripts of this group happen to be in New York: Public Library, Astor MS 1, and Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 755 (formerly Wernigerode); a more modest Gospel-book of Huysborch (near Magdeburg) is in Stuttgart, MS Bibl. 4°1.

In his short survey of the further development of Fulda in the eleventh century, Boeckler surprises one with his almost complete denial of artistic activity in Mainz, and with his attribution to Fulda of four manuscripts which are, in my opinion, of different dates and places of origin: the Missal of St. Alban, Mainz (collection of Duc d'Arenberg); Fulda MS Aa 44; Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 275; and Berlin MS theol. fol. lat. 18. But the stylistic connections between these manuscripts and the newly-discovered frescoes in the crypt of Neuenburg near Fulda (published by A. Stange)[19] are not sufficiently close, despite Boeckler's assumption to the contrary, to make certain an origin at Fulda. The Missal of St. Alban seems to be a product of Mainz; the manuscripts in Paris and Fulda, both stylistically quite different from the Missal, are too strongly modeled on Echternach or Stavelot products to justify a Fulda origin. The difficult and ambiguous question of the position of Berlin MS theol. fol. lat. 18 is better, because more cautiously, handled in an earlier study of Boeckler's.[20] In favor of a Mainz provenance for many manuscripts formerly attributed to that center, a provenance which Boeckler denies with insufficient reason, may be cited the engravings of the Ruthard and Dietrich Crosses in Mainz Cathedral, generally dated too late (Steinberg and von Pape, *Bildnisse Geistlicher . . . Herren*, Leipzig, 1931, pls. 30, 31).

For the study of the school of Fulda it may be of interest that Berlin has acquired a fragment of a hitherto unknown illustrated copy of Rabanus Maurus' *De universo*. Written in Catalonia at the end of the fourteenth century, this manuscript (theol. lat. fol. 930) is carefully described by its discoverer, P. Lehmann,[21] and is partly reproduced in E. van Scherling's *Rotulus, A Quarterly Bulletin for Manuscript Collectors*, Amsterdam, 1933. Its illustrations seem to deviate from the other known illustrated copies of this work (Vatican, Pal. lat. 291, Regin. lat. 391, and the fragments of two leaves in Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 17177), all of which have the same redaction as the only published copy in Monte Cassino. It should be mentioned that the Paris fragment, which was written in West Germany at the end of the twelfth century (perhaps even in Fulda), appears to be especially important. Since its miniatures still reflect so much of the style of the ninth century, one wonders whether the original edi-

18. "Eine Fuldaer Elfenbeingruppe," *Das siebente Jahrzehnt, Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von A. Goldschmidt*, 1935, 14 ff.

19. *Jahrbuch für Denkmalpflege im Regierungsbezirk*, Cassel, 1936.
20. *Schöne Handschriften*, Berlin, 1931, 38 ff.
21. *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen*, LV, 1938, 173 ff.

tion of Rabanus' *De Universo* may not have been illustrated.

P. Bischoff and W. Koehler[22] published a single leaf of an eleventh-century copy of the *Fasti Consulares* of Ravenna, with ten pen-drawings illustrating the corresponding historical events. The leaf was discovered by these authors in the Chapter Library of Merseburg (MS 202). This insignificant-looking fragment is of unique value and importance for the study of late Roman manuscript illustration. According to Koehler's convincing analysis, the text, the arrangement in three columns, and the illustrations appear to be faithfully copied from a sixth-century original, perhaps an illustrated World Chronicle. Koehler rightly suggests Lower Lorraine as the most likely region of execution. The style of the drawings and certain iconographic features recall the Belgian Prudentius illustrations of the eleventh century, and the art of Rainer of Huy.

ENGLAND AND SCANDINAVIA, TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

R. A. Smith[23] has published the recently very successfully restored Stole of St. Cuthbert at Durham Cathedral, made between 909 and 916 by order of Queen Aelflaed for Bishop Frithestan of Winchester. With its beautiful figures (prophets, saints, and apostles) and acanthus ornaments, this first and most promising piece of *opus Anglicanum* must be regarded as an extremely important stylistic document, preceding as it does the Psalter of Aethelstan (924–940) and the first products of Winchester style.

C. Niver[24] gives sound reasons for supposing that the Psalter in the British Museum, Harley MS 2904, generally attributed to Winchester, was illuminated in East Anglia and most probably in Ramsey between 980 and 986. Niver points out the influence of Ramsey upon Fleury, which is corroborated by the stylistic relationship of Harley MS 2904 to two manuscripts probably from Fleury: the Aratus Harley MS 2506 and Orléans MS 175 (the miniature of the latter is reproduced for the first time). Furthermore, he suggests the possibility that the Psalter may be identified with the Psalter of Bishop Oswald, the founder of Ramsey, which is recorded in the old catalogue of the Abbey. At the end of his very careful liturgical study, Niver draws attention to one peculiarity in the representation of the Crucifixion in the Psalter, St. John's act of writing, which he regards as a characteristic English iconographic invention. Indeed, among the other occurrences of this motive known to him (including Morgan MS 709; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff 1.23 [Winchcomb, also connected with Fleury]; Cotton Titus D XXVI) only one example, the ivory on the Cologne Gospels, Morgan MS 651, is, in my opinion, not of Anglo-Saxon origin.

The difficult and delicate problem of the relationship between Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon art is tackled by T. D. Kendrick. In a brilliant paper,[25] he gives a stylistic analysis and an explanation of the "Jellinge" and "Ringerike" style introduced into Anglo-Saxon art of the second half of the tenth and the eleventh century: e.g., the Crosses of Gosforth, Otley, Bibury; Bury St. Edmunds Psalter (Vatican), Bosworth Psalter (British Museum, Add. MS 37517); Cambridge Ff 1.23; designs of a binding on the Caedmon Genesis (British Museum, Junius XI). The undercurrent of "Ringerike" style and the occasional approach to it in southern England, noticeable especially in Winchester manuscripts of the eleventh century (inspired perhaps by such works as the Winchester weathervane, which seems to be true Viking work), may be explained by "a possible community of taste" of the Vikings and Englishmen and as "the artistic output of an Anglo-Danish society." On the other hand, one should not forget that the relatively few instances of "Jellinge" ornament in Northumbria must be explained as "a revival of the old-established system of Hiberno-Saxon art," and not as a style imposed upon the Saxons by their Viking conquerors. As Kendrick very rightly points out, the Register of New Minster (British Museum, MS Stowe 944) of about 1020, depicting in the finest Winchester style the Danish King Cnut with his English wife, gives ample proof that the victorious Vikings sponsored the Latin art of western civilization. In another paper,[26] Kendrick gives an excellent stylistic analysis of the niello ornaments on the eleventh-century Cross of Flombard (†1028) in Durham Cathedral, usually claimed as Viking work, and of the silver mounts in the Guildhall Museum. By comparing these objects with purely English works of the same period (stone carvings and illuminated initials), he establishes their English origin.

The British Museum has acquired a magnificent figurehead of a Viking ship, made of oak, found recently in the River Scheldt near Termonde, Belgium.[27] The piece differs stylistically from the ornamental woodwork of Norwegian ships, and Kendrick suggests, with good reason, a Danish origin. If this theory proves to be correct, the figurehead may very likely have belonged to one of the ships in which the Danes invaded the coast of the Low Countries and southern England.

M. C. Ross[28] claims, with good reason, that the gilded cover of Morgan MS 708 (the Anglo-Saxon Gospels of Judith of Flanders), which, since it came originally from the Treasure of Weingarten Abbey, has been generally considered Swabian, is English work of the eleventh century. His opinion is based upon the following evidence: the writing on the strip of translucent green cloisonné enamel has the same palaeographic character as the writing in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript itself; the same kind of filigree occurs on the contemporaneous Anglo-Saxon gold cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum; and (not so conclusive) a comparison of the figures of the cover with those of the miniatures in the manuscript itself,

22. "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken Ravennater Annalen," *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 1939, I, 125 ff.

23. *British Museum Quarterly*, XI, 1936, 4 ff.

24. *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 1939, II, 667 ff.

25. "Viking Taste in Preconquest England," *Antiquity*, XV, 1941, 125 ff.

26. *Antiquaries Journal*, XVIII, 1938, 236–42.

27. T. D. Kendrick, *British Museum Quarterly*, XII, 1938, 73.

28. ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, 83–85.

and with an Anglo-Saxon cruet (published by T. D. Kendrick).[29] But we should not forget that there are so few English Romanesque metal figures left to us that it is almost impossible to find more closely related monuments.

For the difficult task of proving the English workmanship of the cover, it may perhaps be of some value to state that no stylistic connection exists between it and the contemporaneous Swabian goldsmith ateliers. The production of Zwiefalten, near Weingarten, is entirely different. Concerning this latter work there exists an unpublished doctoral dissertation, by the late H. Guessefeld, a pupil of Marc Rosenberg (Würzburg University, 1924).

The figures of the Weingarten cover represent stylistically an English parallel to the bronze column of Bernward of Hildesheim. The fluttering, nervous style of the minatures in the manuscript is replaced on the cover by figures of a more Romanesque solidity which might perhaps be due to Belgian influence. Parallels among English manuscripts are rather to be found in, for example, Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 302; British Museum, Caligula A XIV (both from Hereford); Stuttgart 407; or in the so-called S. Bertin ivory figures (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, IV, 36–39). Finally, one may ask whether the gilded cover of the other Anglo-Saxon manuscript from Weingarten (Morgan MS 709), which is usually attributed to Belgium, should not also be considered English work.

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES IN ENGLAND, LORRAINE, GERMANY, AND ITALY

M. A. Farley and F. Wormald[30] demonstrate convincingly that the drawing of the Vision of St. John Chrysostom in a manuscript in Hereford Cathedral and the miniatures in a Boethius codex in Oxford (Bodleian Auct. F. VI.5) are products of the same atelier as the miniatures in the well-known Psalter from Shaftesbury (British Museum, Lansdowne MS 383). These paintings, of a very distinct personal character, represent one of the rare cases in the history of English illumination where it is possible to assume that a single artist was alone responsible for the whole work. It is difficult to explain the style of these miniatures, all of which may be dated somewhere between 1140 and 1150. The problem is made all the more difficult since the provenance of no one of the manuscripts is known. The beautiful draughtsmanship in Hereford foreshadows the later English drawings in the style of the Bede in St. John's College, Cambridge. Although it is known that the Psalter in the British Museum was destined for St. Edward's Convent, Shaftesbury Abbey, in Dorset, the miniatures certainly were not executed by nuns. Further study may perhaps detect northern French or Flemish influence, and we may suggest a certain stylistic connection with earlier manuscripts from Hereford (e.g., British Museum, Caligula A XIV; Cambridge, Pembroke College 302). It is regrettable that the above study, careful as it is and containing as it does very useful iconographic notes, lacks color descriptions of the manuscripts in question.

M. R. James[31] reproduces and gives a very careful iconographic analysis of the four well-known leaves with Old and New Testament illustrations, now divided between the British Museum (Add. MS 37472), the Morgan Library (MSS 521, 727), and the Victoria and Albert Museum (MS 661). James connects these leaves stylistically with the St. Albans Psalter in Hildesheim, and iconographically with Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120, and the frontispiece to the copy of the Utrecht Psalter in Paris (Bibl. nat., MS lat. 8846). Furthermore, he makes the important point that certain rare iconographic representations and the method of presenting the scenes in small compartments, characteristic of these leaves and of the Paris series, are already to be found in the famous Gospels of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286), dating from the sixth to seventh century.

Similar observations have been made by this reviewer.[32] This iconographic correspondence may be of importance for the cycle of the eleventh-century school of Echternach (an Anglian foundation!) in which similar scenes occur. Are these based on the same supposed sixth- to seventh-century models which are copied or reflected in the twelfth-century English leaves; or did an Echternach cycle exist in England?

E. Millar[33] has published some seven additional miniatures of de Brailles belonging originally to the same Walters manuscript discussed above. These he discovered in the collection of Georges Wildenstein, Paris.

Mr. Millar[34] announces the acquisition of the Evesham Psalter for the British Museum, as Add. MS 44874. Several of the miniatures are reproduced in Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, March 19, 1936. The manuscript belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century and is perhaps the earliest example of the magnificent work grouped around the Amesbury Psalter, All Souls College, Oxford, and the Psalter at Belvoir Castle (the latter published by E. Millar in a splendid facsimile edition for the Roxburghe Club, 1938).

C. Niver[35] succeeds by means of a liturgical study in localizing MS 28 of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, in the diocese of Reims. But he admits that there are no known Reims manuscripts of the same style. Niver compares the miniatures of the Walters manuscript with those produced in S. Vaast and S. Bertin; but a still closer connection seems to exist with Marchiennes. Indeed, a comparison with a Marchiennes Missal (Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 1095) of the same period shows such a close relationship in figure-style, drapery, initials, and script, that there

29. *Antiquaries Journal*, XVIII, 1938, 377 ff.

30. "Three Related English Romanesque Manuscripts," ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, 157–61.

31. "Four Leaves of an English Psalter," *Walpole Society Annual*, XXV, 1937, 1–23.

32. "Unknown Bible Pictures by W. de Brailles and Some Notes on Early English Bible Illustrations," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, I, 1938, 55 ff.

33. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, II, 1939, 106 ff.

34. *British Museum Quarterly*, XI, 1937, 22 ff.

35. "A Twelfth Century Sacramentary in the Walters Collection," *Speculum*, X, 1935, 333 ff.

cannot be much doubt that the Walters Sacramentary should be attributed to the same school.

A. Boutémy[36] attributes about thirty more manuscripts in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) and Valenciennes to the illuminator Savalo, who was working in S. Amand Abbey in the third quarter of the twelfth century. The bone knife-handle by Savalo in the Lille Museum, which Boutémy mentions, has already been reproduced in Goldschmidt's *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, IV, 53.

Adolph Goldschmidt[37] publishes Walters MS 73, hitherto unknown, which on the basis of stylistic and liturgical evidence proves to be a product of Helmarshausen Abbey and an important stylistic link between the two more sumptuously decorated manuscripts which were commissioned from the same Abbey by Henry the Lion about the year 1175 (now at Gmunden and in the British Museum, Lansdowne MS 381). Struck by the remarkable resemblance of the donor's dress in the Walters Psalter to that of the Duchess Mathilda in Gmunden, Goldschmidt is inclined to identify the female donor with the Duke's daughter, Clementia of Zähringen (married first in 1166 and again in 1177). But even if we take into consideration the strongly conservative stylistic tendencies of the Helmarshausen atelier during the period of Henry the Lion, it is difficult to accept a date as late as that suggested by this presumed identification of the donor. The writing, as well as the style of the figures, indicates rather the middle of the twelfth century and a dependence on the school of Cologne. During the period of Henry the Lion, this dependence of Helmarshausen on Cologne ceased in favor of a decisive Mosan and English influence.

F. Jansen[38] offers a careful study of the history of the manuscripts in the library of Count Kesselstadt— i.e., a history of the manuscripts preserved in the Treasury and Chapter Library of Treves Cathedral. As Dean of the Chapter of Paderborn Cathedral, Kesselstadt collected, between the years 1783–1812, manuscripts of his own diocese and that of Hildesheim. The greater part of the library was given, after his death in 1814, to the Chapter of Treves Cathedral. Jansen gives a list of the original provenances and the present homes of the manuscripts. Of special importance for the study of Romanesque art are his suggestions that the Treves MSS 62, 139, and 142 may have come from Helmarshausen.

For the little-known production of Fulda in the twelfth century, K. Weitzmann offers new material.[39] Although long known and already published by historians (T. Mommsen and J. Harttung), these two Fulda manuscripts are of special interest for the student of Romanesque art, since they can be precisely dated. One, the *Codex Eberhardi* in Marburg, was written under Abbot Marquard (1150–1165). The quite antiquated style of the frontispiece and the

historiated initials are difficult to place among the known German Romanesque illuminations. Weitzmann's reference to Hirsau is not too convincing. Furthermore, among the richer existing material of Frankish and Middle Rhenish illumination, it would be difficult to find cogent stylistic relationships. Interesting, perhaps, would be a comparison with the twelfth-century stone-reliefs in the Petersberg in Fulda (H. Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur*, 1924, pls. 38, 39), and with enamels in the Treasure of Fritzlar. More important are the drawings of author portraits in the Cassiodorus manuscript, executed under Provost Rugger, 1176–1177 (Leyden, MS Vulc. 46). There seems to be no connection between them and the former production of Fulda. Weitzmann compares them with the excellent niello engravings of the English kings on the reliquary of St. Oswald in the Cathedral of Hildesheim, and here he assumes that the reliquary comes from the atelier of the Guelphs in Brunswick. He also compares the Leyden manuscript with the drawings of a medical treatise in London, MS Harley 1585, which he takes for English work. His conclusion is that English influence in Fulda traveled via Brunswick! But the Brunswick provenance of the reliquary of St. Oswald is not at all certain; and its niello plaques, if they are English, could have been imported directly from the island. Furthermore, the drawings of the Harley manuscript seem more likely to be of Liège origin (cf. the Bible cycles in Berlin, Liège, and London); and, at any rate, the style of the Fulda drawings in Leyden reflect Franco-Belgian work rather than English (cf. Douai, MS 392, or Cambrai, MS 965).

B. Wirtgen has published the manuscripts of the Abbey of St. Peter and Paul in Erfurt.[40] Among these manuscripts, written partly in the scriptorium of St. Peter, Erfurt, and now rediscovered chiefly in the libraries of Berlin, the British Museum, Gotha, and Pommersfelden, are to be found several with initials and miniatures of importance for the student of Romanesque art, and especially for that of the diocese of Mainz. It is regrettable that this otherwise richly-illustrated book does not include a reproduction of the interesting miniature representing Jonah and the Whale (Berlin, theol. lat. oct. 82, second half of the thirteenth century, and perhaps from Mainz).

J. Schomer[41] studies the relationship between text and illustrations of the Visions of St. Hildegard, chiefly on the basis of the splendid, fantastic miniatures of the *Codex Scivias* in Wiesbaden, and of the *Liber divinorum operum* in Lucca. His conclusions are as follows: new pictures were added or invented 1) on the basis of exact accounts of the vision in the text; or 2) when, for the sake of a better understanding of the vision, the painter represented things not described in the text. Schomer makes the additional point that the influence of the iconographic tradition can easily be detected in instances where the text does not contain a description of the vision. These findings may be correct in principle, but it is doubtful whether they take into consideration the whole store

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36. "Quelques aspects de l'oeuvre de Savalon," *Revue belge de l'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, IX, 1939, 299 ff.

37. "A German Psalter of the Twelfth Century Written in Helmarshausen," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, I, 1938, 18 ff.

38. "Der Paderborner Domdechant Graf Ch. von Kesselstadt und seine Handschriftensammlung," *St. Liborius*, Paderborn, 1936, 355–68, pls. 47–50.

39. "Zwei Fuldaer Handschriften," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, VIII–IX, 1936, 172 ff.

40. *Die Handschriften des Klosters St. Peter und Paul bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1936.

41. *Die Illustrationen zu den Visionen der Hlg. Hildegard als künstlerische Neuschöpfung*, Bonn, 1937.

of Christian, as well as secular, iconography which was available to Hildegard and to her illuminators. I need refer only to the illustration of Liber IV of the *Codex Scivias* in Wiesbaden. The fact that this also occurs in the Treves copy of the *Waelsche Gast* of Thomas von Zerklaeren (Erbach copy), corroborates his assumed localization of the Wiesbaden manuscript in Treves. Schomer's observation of a stylistic relationship between the Wiesbaden Codex and the Psalter of Hartwik of Bremen (†1168), in the Dyson Perrins collection, is a valuable one, especially as Hildegard and Hartwik carried on a correspondence with each other. However, the early dating of the Lucca Codex and the relationship of its miniatures (in which Schomer sees no traces of Gothic style!) to Wiesbaden is not very convincing. Some ten years ago, I became doubtful about the Rhenish or German origin of the Lucca manuscript, and for that reason omitted publishing its magnificent miniatures in my *Deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts.* The manuscript is certainly Italian and is consequently one of the most important and eloquent documents for the study of the part played by northern Gothic in the creation of the Tuscan proto-Renaissance. Compare, in this connection, the placing of the portraits in the tablets of the Biccherna in Siena with the slender figures in the very northern Gothic altarpiece of St. John the Baptist in Siena, figures which M. Meiss has significantly connected with those in the St. Louis Psalter (*Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, 23 ff.).

K. Holter announces that the two most important illuminated manuscripts of the Salzburg School of the twelfth century, the Antiphonary of St. Peter and the Admont "Giant Bible," have been acquired by the State Library of Vienna.[42] He points out that the Bible originally belonged not to Admont, but to St. Peter in Czataàr (Hungary), founded in 1138. The new dating of the Antiphonary in the time of Abbot Eberhard (1147–1164) seems to be convincing. For these two manuscripts see also P. Buberl's excellent survey of Austrian Romanesque painting in K. Ginhardt, *Bildende Kunst Österreichs*, II, 1936, pp. 150 ff., and K. M. Swoboda, *Neue Aufgaben der Kunstgeschichte*, 1935, pp. 45 ff.

The title of M. Harrsen's publication (*Cursus St. Mariae. A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript, now M. 739 in The Pierpont Morgan Library, Probably Executed in the Premonstratensian Monastery of Louka in Moravia, at the Instance of the Margravine Kunegund, for Presentation to her Niece, St. Agnes*[43] summarizes the essential results of this very careful and learned study. Miss Harrsen here establishes the existence of an important atelier in Moravia, hitherto completely unknown, which, according to her, is basically dependent on the school of Salzburg. The style and iconography of these illuminations are so closely connected with the illuminations of Regensburg-Prüfening and Bamberg (cf. especially the picture-cycles of the Life of King David, Bamberg, MS Bibl. 59, and of the Chronicles of Otto of Freising, Jena, MS Bose 4°6 [cf. W. Scheidig, *Weltchronik Ottos von Freising*, 1928]), that before I was able to study the

original, I did not hesitate to attribute the Morgan manuscript to this very region (*Deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 1936, p. 63). As a matter of fact, the "Salzburg" Bible of St. Gumpert in Ansbach in Franconia (!), which offers some of the best comparisons Miss Harrsen was able to find, is now generally regarded as a product of this region. On the other hand, her reasons for changing the localization of the Prague MS XIII E 14 from Salzburg to Bohemia are not convincing, nor are her stylistic comparisons with a drawing of the seated Virgin and Child in Walters MS 26 (formerly Wernigerode), a Psalter which is more likely of Lower-Saxon origin. Miss Harrsen overemphasizes the source-value of the frescoes of Znaim (near Louka), for these wall-paintings have suffered too much from restorations to be valid for stylistic comparisons (cf. A. Matejcek, *Jahrbuch d. K. Zentralkommission*, 1916, Beiblatt, 69–107, and E. Kitzinger, *Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, 87 ff.).

In his review of my *Deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts*,[44] Carl Nordenfalk publishes two important twelfth-century illuminations in a manuscript from Echternach (Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 8920) as further examples of the antiquarian-like copying of Byzantine originals—in his opinion a typical German predilection. His doubts concerning the localization of such works as the Psalters in Maihingen and Melk in an atelier outside of Würzburg are without justification. This localization can now be corroborated by a number of manuscripts which are certainly Austrian, and in the same Franco-Austrian style, which at the time of the completion of my corpus were not available to me: e.g., Vienna, MSS Series nova 3349, 2611, 2594 (Melk?), 1170–72, and the calendar of MS 1898. Other monuments which should now be added to the corpus are: Klosterneuburg, Museum no. 102, miniatures on vellum pasted on a wooden box (related to the casket in Regensburg, *Deutsche Buchmalerei*, figs. 390–91); Vienna, MS Series nova 2595 (sister manuscript of Vienna MS 1834; *ibid.*, figs. 1092–93). These works are partly described, but unfortunately not reproduced, by K. Holter and K. Oettinger in the *Bulletin de la société de reproduction des manuscrits*, XXI, 1938. Furthermore, we may add: Vienna, Library of the Industrial Museum, *ca.* 1300 (single leaf with the Crucifixion, published by K. Oettinger in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins*, VI, 1939, 7 ff.); another Austrian Canon page, reproduced in the Helbing Sale Catalogue, Munich, May 30, 1905 (Hartmann collection, Munich); the magnificent Giant Cross painted on vellum, seven meters high, in Wimpasing, probably from Vienna Cathedral (reproduced by E. Strohmer in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, VI, 1939, 87 ff.); a very beautiful seated Virgin Mary, in Cremona, Pinacotheca no. 245 (unpublished; related to the Gospels of Hohenwarth, *Deutsche Buchmalerei*, fig. 334); seven full-page miniatures in the collection of Sir Kenneth Clark, London, which belong to the same Würzburg manuscript as the sixteen leaves in the British Museum, MS Add. 17687 (*Deutsche Buchmalerei*, figs. 917–32). (I am indebted to Sir Kenneth

42. *Graphische Künste*, N.F. II, 1937, 121 ff.
43. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1937.

44. *Acta Archaeologica*, VIII, 1938, 251 ff.

for letting me study these miniatures.) The Strassburg single leaf representing the Last Supper (*Deutsche Buchmalerei*, fig. 498), and an unpublished and hitherto unknown miniature representing the Creation of Adam and Eve and the Expulsion from Paradise which belongs to the same manuscript, are now in the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Penna., nos. 1044 and 1051.

J. Helbig[45] publishes a stained-glass window with a representation of an angel in the Musée Cinquantenaire as being of Belgian origin, late twelfth century. As a matter of fact, the beautiful fragment is to be dated *ca.* 1250-1260 and, together with other fragments in Darmstadt, belongs to the stained glass of Frankfurt Cathedral (cf. *Deutsche Buchmalerei*, p. 28, pl. 3).

Our knowledge of early Romanesque miniature production in South Italy is considerably increased by a careful description of two illuminated manuscripts of unusually high quality in the libraries of Naples and the Vatican. One of these, a book of Homilies, discussed by M. Avery,[46] was probably written in the second quarter of the eleventh century. As its illuminations influenced the style of an Exultet Roll in the Cathedral of Troja, dated some fifty years later, Miss Avery rightly assumes the existence of a scriptorium in Troja in the eleventh century. In the text volumes to accompany the plates of her corpus of the Exultet Rolls (published by Princeton University, 1936), so eagerly awaited by all students of medieval art, Miss Avery promises to give evidence for the stylistic connection of the Naples codex with manuscripts of the tenth century assigned by her to the scriptorium of Volturno.

More difficult will be the localization and dating of the second manuscript, a four-volume Breviary in Rome, discussed by Filipowicz-Osieczkowska.[47] This careful study is restricted to general iconographic, stylistic and palaeographic remarks. The manuscript was probably written in the early part of the twelfth century in a South Italian atelier, influenced by Beneventan script. The very interesting miniatures here reproduced are ample proof of how little we still know about South Italian illumination in the Romanesque period. The illustrations seem to be especially important for the study of the iconography of the *Passionale* in the North, and for the problem of the stylistic relations between South France and Italy.

P. Courcelle[48] publishes the historiated initials of the tenth-century Virgil manuscript of South Italian origin in Naples (Cod. Vindob. palat. 58). The manuscript was already made known to students of palaeography by E. A. Lowe in his *Scriptura Beneventana*, pl. xlv. Courcelle compares the historiated initials of the Naples manuscript with the corresponding illustrations in the *Codex Romanus* and on

the ivory flabellum of Tournus, and suggests for the Naples codex a probable African prototype of the first century A.D. But except for the portrait of Virgil and the representation of Tityrus and Melibeus, an unprejudiced eye must admit that in these rather poor illustrations too little is left, stylistically and iconographically, that is of any source value for the iconography of the antique Virgil illustrations. (For other Romanesque Virgil illustrations, cf. A. Boeckler's splendid facsimile edition of the *Eneide des Heinrich van Veldecke in Berlin*, Leipzig, 1939, pp. 34 ff.)

P. Courcelle[49] compares the miniatures of the map of Vivarium which are found in three manuscripts of the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus: Würzburg, MS theol., fol. 29 (here published for the first time) and 32; Bamberg, Patres 61, folio 29ᵛ (end of the eighth century), and Cassel, MS theol., fol. 29, 26ᵛ (tenth century). (Cf. Milkau, *Festschrift E. Kuhnert*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 38-44.) Contrary to Milkau, who considers that these miniatures have no local tradition, or any historical or geographical value, Courcelle is probably right in saying that they, as well as the text, are copies of a sixth-century original, e.g., one contemporary with Cassiodorus, and as such have an exact geographical significance. One may add that the rendering of such geographical representations goes back, at any rate, to a late antique tradition, and that these illustrations may best be compared with those of the *Agrimensores* (sixth-century copy in Wolfenbüttel; tenth-century copy from Fulda [?] in the Vatican).

W. F. Volbach studies the relationship between the miniatures in the Vatican and the Parisian copies of Frederick II's *Codex de arte venandi cum avibus*.[50] Volbach gives good reasons for believing that the Paris version (Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 12400), formerly thought to be a copy after the lost original belonging to the Emperor, was copied from the Vatican codex (Pal. lat. 1071). The original manuscript probably was decorated only with the portrait of the Emperor. This portrait was faithfully copied on fol. 1ᵛ of the Vatican codex. The other portrait on the same page probably represents King Manfred. Volbach reproduces in this article a drawing, from the eleventh-century Codex Barb. lat. 144, which is of great importance for the problem of the medieval pattern-sketch as well as for the influence of Byzantium on South Italy. The drawing, representing the Forty Martyrs, is a copy after a Byzantine original in the manner of the ivory plaques in Leningrad and Berlin (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, nos. 9 and 10). Volbach's dating of the drawing in the tenth or eleventh century is probably two hundred years too early.

IVORIES, BRONZES, AND ENAMELS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES IN LIMOGES, VENICE, LORRAINE, COLOGNE, LOWER SAXONY, POLAND, SCANDINAVIA, AND IRELAND

With the help of the valuable notebooks of the archivist A. Bosvieux, of the Archives Provinciales,

45. "La peinture sur verre dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux," *Annales d'archéologie*, Brussels, 1938, 147-83.

46. "A Manuscript from Troja, Naples MS VI B 2," *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 1939, I, 154-64.

47. "Notes sur la décoration des manuscrits Vat. lat. 1267-70," *Dawna Sztuka*, Institut Ossolinski, Lwow, 1938, 1-21.

48. "La tradition antique dans les miniatures inédites d'un Virgile de Naples," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, LXVI, 1939, 249-79.

49. "Le site du monastère de Cassiodore," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, LXV, 1938, 259-307.

50. *Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, XV, 1939, 1-31

Limoges, M. C. Ross[51] has succeeded in identifying six enamel panels in the Morgan Collection of the Metropolitan Museum as belonging to a reliquary from Champagnat, not far from Limoges. Ross's identification is especially important, as these enamels belong to the same group as the two châsses in Burgos which have always been used as the strongest argument for the Spanish origin of this sort of enamel. The author convincingly disposes of the last doubts about the Limoges origin of these enamels by comparing them with miniatures of the school of Limoges. In this paper, he also reproduces for the first time a plaque representing a Martyr Saint in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, one of the very few existing Limoges enamels of the beginning of the twelfth century which are still direct imitations of cloisonné enameling.

For the whole question of the Spanish or Limousin origin of certain twelfth-century enamels, cf. also Mr. Ross's review of W. K. Hildburgh's book, *Medieval Spanish Enamels* (*Speculum*, xv, 1940, 113 ff.). The same author has published additional source material for the activity of the enamel ateliers of Limoges ("De Opere Lemoviceno," *Speculum*, xvi, 1941, 453 ff.).

Marquet de Vasselot[52] publishes a fine Limoges châsse of the square type from the Personnaz collection, Bordeaux, with representations of the Crucifixion, the seated Virgin, St. Peter, and the Holy Women at the Tomb. He compares the object with the six other known châsses of the same type in the Louvre (Collection Martin LeRoy), the Bargello, Munich, and the Metropolitan Museum (G. Blumenthal Collection).

P. Nelson[53] gives a list of seven pairs of Limoges enamel altar-cruets of the thirteenth century, all of the same type, in Paris (Bibl. Nat.), Budapest, the Bargello, Belfast, Posen (Golouchow Collection), and one in his own collection.

C. R. Uggla[54] publishes a twelfth-century enameled plaque representing St. Andrew, which was acquired by the Stockholm Museum from a Yugoslavian monastery. Stylistically it is closely related to two enamels found recently in the tomb of a bishop in Gnesen, and to the enamels on the mitres of Linköping Cathedral in the National Museum at Stockholm and (omitted) at Cividale, in the Treasure of the Cathedral, which are probably of Venetian workmanship.

New material on Mosan enamels is given by J. de Borchgrave d'Altena[55] (*Croix de Kamexhe*, a Mosan enamel plaque in Paris, Wild collection, and a detail of the important reliquary of the Holy Cross in Nantes, Musée Dobré); M. C. Ross[56] (a plaque in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, representing Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasse); and E.

Gosselin[57] (four plaques in the Carrand Collection of the Bargello, Florence). Measurements and color descriptions of the plaques are unfortunately missing. None of these three articles attempts to solve problems of chronology and of localization in different ateliers, on the basis of stylistic or iconographical analysis.

J. de Borchgrave d'Altena[58] reproduces a gilded bronze figure of Christ from the Fressart collection, now in Brussels, Musée Cinquantenaire. The beautiful statue so strongly resembles a figure of the Crucified in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne (attributed by H. Usener, a little too audaciously, to Rainer of Huy) that one may assume that both figures were cast from the same mould. Another Mosan bronze Crucifix of a somewhat different type, in the possession of P. Nelson, Liverpool, is also attributed by its owner to the school of Rainer of Huy (*Antiquaries Journal*, xviii, 1938, 182 ff.).

J. de Borchgrave d'Altena[59] also contributes a note on a Mosan disk with a bronze Crucifixion in its center and a border in enamel (formerly Fressart collection). For comparison, he reproduces one of the noblest but little-known creations of Lorraine workmanship, the cover of the Gospels of St. Anastasia in Warsaw. The cover was reproduced for the first time in an excellent article, by M. Morelowski, on the relations between Liège and Poland in the twelfth century, in the too short-lived *Historji Sztuki Tow Przyj Nank*, Vilna, 1935. In this study Morelowski gives very good reasons for attributing the famous bronze doors of Gnesen to a Belgian atelier operating in Poland. His theory is corroborated by the existence of some Belgian illuminated manuscripts in Polish monasteries which were founded in part by Belgian Benedictine Abbeys. (These manuscripts have recently been published by S. Sawicka, *Bulletin de la société de reproduction des manuscrits*, ix, 1938.) Even more convincing evidence for the Belgian origin of the style of the Gnesen doors than the monuments quoted by Morelowski appears to be the little Lorraine pyxis in Munich (published as English in Goldschmidt's *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, iv, 74). The rinceaux figures on the latter are almost identical in style with those of the bronze doors.

How difficult it still is to differentiate between Belgian and English work of the twelfth century is demonstrated by M. Laurent's most recent paper on the fine fragment of a single leaf, with two historiated Canon Tables, in Brussels, Musée Cinquantenaire (*Bulletin des Musées Royaux*, Brussels, ix, 1937, 117 ff.). The meaning of the decoration of Canon Tables of this kind has already been studied in a charming article by M. Laurent.[60] Laurent previously considered them to be of Mosan origin (*Bulletin des Musées Royaux*, vii, 1934, 74 ff.), but he now seems to be inclined to an English attribution, although in this he is probably misled by the

51. *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 1939, ii, 467 ff.
52. "Une châsse limousine du 13ᵐᵉ siècle léguée au Musée du Louvre," *Monuments Piot*, xxxviii, 1938, 123 ff.
53. *Antiquaries Journal*, xviii, 1938, 49 ff.
54. "Venedig-Linköping, National Museum," *Årsbock*, N.F. v, Stockholm, 1935, 7–19.
55. *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, v, 1935, 305 ff.
56. *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, viii, 1938, 193 ff.

57. *Bollettino d'arte*, xxxi, 1937–1938, 166 ff.
58. *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, vi, 1936, 13 ff.
59. *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, vi, 1936, 113 ff.
60. "Le phénix, les serpents et les aromates dans une miniature du XIIᵐᵉ siècle," *Antiquité classique*, iv, 1936, 375 ff.

representation of the Stoning of Christ which also appears in an English manuscript, Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 120. The English attribution may nevertheless be correct. Points in favor of such an attribution are: 1) that there are preserved other leaves of the same manuscript (which must have been quite a sumptuous illustrated Bible), one of which, in the Berlin Print Room (P. Wescher, *Handschriften . . . im Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen*, Berlin, 1931, p. 21), was inserted into an English manuscript of the thirteenth century; and 2) that the style of these miniatures very much resembles those executed by the English illuminator Hugo, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 717 (O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, I, Pl. 48).

The beautiful Mosan figures of four Evangelists and two pendent angels in the Carrand Collection, Bargello, are published by J. Courcelle-Ladmirant[61] and by E. Gosselin.[62] The attribution to one master, claimed by both authors, is not convincing. The figure of St. John may best be compared with the angels on the candlestick in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Soltikoff Collection).

S. Troll[63] publishes a number of gilded silver plaques in Vienna and Cologne (Schnütgen Museum), stamped with the same ornaments as those which appear on the shrine of Heribert at Deutz. Since the plaques in Vienna were a gift of the Viennese painter Johannes Klein, who in 1870 worked in Kempen, Lower Rhine, and since the shrine of Heribert was restored in Kempen in the year 1858, Troll concludes rightly that the plaques must have been removed from the shrine in the latter year. At the same period the plaque with the most famous figure of the shrine, the Vintager, might have been added. It is not present in Aus'm Werth's publication of 1858, which gives a faithful reproduction of the shrine as it appeared then. The style of the figure has always led me to believe that it was a "neo-Romanesque" product of the nineteenth century, and it is possible, as Troll assumes, that it was done by Klein in 1870 when he was working on the cartoons for the "neo-Gothic" stained-glass windows of the Church in Kempen. We may add that on the occasion of the restoration, even larger parts than those in Vienna and Cologne were removed from the shrine. These were used for the decoration of two twelfth-century manuscripts from Altenberg (Lower Rhine), now in the Rylands Library, Manchester, MSS 5 and 6 (M. R. James, *Catalogue*, pls. 8, 10).

M. C. Ross attributes to Cologne a small walrus-bone statue, of very fine quality, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.[64] The figure, which represents a knight, originally decorated a corner of a portable altar. Even closer in date, as well as in style, than the caskets in Darmstadt and Stuttgart (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, 32; IV, 76) cited by Ross are the eleventh-century fragments in Cologne and Bonn (Goldschmidt, II, 96; III, 54). Iconograph-

ically similar figures are to be found on the corners of the church-shaped reliquaries in Brussels and Darmstadt (Goldschmidt, III, 52, 53). Goldschmidt interprets these figures as guardians of the reliquary, but it is more probable that they represent the knightly saints of Cologne: Cassius, Victor, Gereon, and Mauritius.

S. Gevaert[65] shows the stylistic and iconographic relationships between the Transfigurations depicted on the ivory plaque on the cover of the Gospels of Afflighem (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal, MS 1184), the miniature of the Bible of Floreffe (British Museum), and a Lower Saxon enameled plaque in Cologne (Schnütgen Museum). This note is important for its discussion of the close artistic dependence of Lower Saxony upon Belgium in the second half of the twelfth century.

P. Rolland[66] publishes the ivory box in Tournay Cathedral which was produced by a Cologne atelier working for mass export between the latter part of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth. The box belongs to the same family as one in Leningrad (recently identified by M. C. Ross as coming from Auzances [Creuze]; cf. *Mémoires de la société des sciences naturelles et archéologiques de la Creuze*, XXV, 1934, 3 ff.), and examples in the Cluny Museum (from S. Yved-de-Braisne), and the Revoil collection (from S. Maur-des-Fossés). Rolland points out, very rightly, that the Cologne origin of these boxes is corroborated by the occurrence of the name *Varnerius* engraved on the bronze plaque of the lock of the Louvre box, a name which may be identified with a Vernerus of S. Pantaleon, Cologne (1141–1157). On the other hand, Rolland and Ross assume a very late date for the production of these boxes, based on the fact that the Revoil box contained relics brought from Constantinople in 1245–1250. But even if the plaque with the Varnerius inscription proves to be a later addition, and even if we grant the strongest possible stylistic conservatism for the mass production of such boxes, Rolland's and Ross's dating seems to be too late for Cologne. In the first part of the thirteenth century, local tradition there had already yielded to the new style of Nicholas of Verdun.

H. Schnitzler[67] gives a careful stylistic analysis of the shrines of Anno and Albinus (after 1186). He rightly compares the fine dragons on the crest of the latter with those on the stone sculptures of Brauweiler and Maria Laach (Samson Master; cf. also the excellent notes in the monograph on Brauweiler by W. Bader [1937], pp. 209 ff.). Schnitzler tries furthermore to reconstruct the damaged front of the shrine in Cologne and the lost altar-frontal with the twelve apostles in St. Pantaleon, Cologne, a donation of the Abbot Heinrich of Huerne. Of special interest is the reproduction of a highly important and beautiful enameled plaque, representing an abbot, perhaps St. Bruno of S. Pantaleon. Schnitzler is certainly right in attributing the plaque to the atelier of

61. *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome*, XVII, 1936, 57 ff.

62. *Bollettino d'arte*, XXXI, 1937–1938, 167 ff.

63. "Funde zum Heribert Schrein," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XI, 1939, 26 ff.

64. *Pantheon*, XXIII, 1939, 243.

65. *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, VII, 1937, 97 ff.

66. *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, VIII, 1938, 289 ff.

67. "Nicolaus von Verdun und der Albinusschrein," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XI, 1939, 56 ff.

Nicholas of Verdun, although he knows the piece only through an old photograph and from a description in the catalogue of an exhibition held in Frankfurt a.M. in 1914, when the plaque belonged to R. von Passavant. It is today in a private collection in the United States.

C. Dreyfus[68] studies the two beautiful *épauliers* representing the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, formerly in the Cathedral of Vladimir and the Botkin Collection, Hermitage, respectively, now in the Louvre and the collection of R. von Hirsch, Basle. Dreyfus rightly emphasizes their stylistic connection with the work of Nicholas of Verdun. Strangely enough, no one seems ever to have doubted the supposed use of these enamels as *épauliers*. But, as a matter of fact (as I hope to suggest in another paper), these plaques are armlets which probably belonged to the Crown Insignia of the Holy Roman Empire. Bock reproduces, after Delsenbach's engravings of the Insignia, another pair of such enamel plaques of exactly the same size, now lost, representing the Nativity and Presentation in the Temple, which are listed in the catalogue of the Insignia as armlets.

A. Weissgerber[69] reproduces for the first time an enameled plaque in the Hamburg Museum. It represents, according to the author, a scene from the life of St. Anno, probably his Investiture by the Emperor Henry III. But this interpretation lacks any evidence. We do not know of any illustrated life of St. Anno. Scenes of the kind may have appeared on the reliefs of his shrine in Siegburg; but these reliefs are now destroyed, and their iconographic content can hardly be recognized from the reproductions of the shrine which are preserved in two paintings of the year 1764 in Belleke, Westfalia, and in an eighteenth-century sketchbook in Paris, Bibl. nat., MS lat. 9275 (published by S. Gevaert, *Revue belge d'archéologie*, x, 1940, 5 ff. and A. Fuchs, *Kunstgabe des Vereins für christliche Kunst im Erzbistum Köln*, 1938). Weissgerber follows von Falke and Renard in connecting the plaque stylistically with two enamels in the Treasure of Siegburg and with the magnificent niello cup in Cologne. According to Weissgerber, these works were produced about 1180 in the same Cologne atelier under the influence of Nicholas of Verdun, who had come to Cologne before 1181. This is possible, and in favor of his assumption we may even add that there probably existed in Cologne a colony of Verdun goldsmiths (cf. E. Hübinger, *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, CXXIX, 1937, 85). But all the well-known enamels, reliquaries, and manuscripts which Weissgerber quotes for comparison have nothing to do with Nicholas of Verdun, but have always been considered, with good reason, as Mosan work.

Rather confusing and naïve are the ideas developed in A. Coppier's paper, "Le rôle artistique et social des orfèvres-graveurs français au moyen-âge. IV. Les émaux de Nicolas de Verdun," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XVII, 1937, 269 ff. Coppier claims for Nicholas of Verdun the miniatures of the Ingeborge Psalter in Chantilly and the sculptures of the central tympanum of Notre Dame, Paris. Furthermore, he reproduces an actual print from an engraved figure on an eleventh-century portable altar in the Louvre, as proof of his theory that the copper-engraving of the fifteenth century originated in French art. Aside from the fact that plates with engravings were made in the eleventh century in other countries, the distinction is immaterial, since we can obtain a print in the same way from any Romanesque incised drawings. This, however, has no bearing on the question of where copper-engraving was made and used for the first time for printing. The manner in which Coppier uses historical sources can best be illustrated by his attribution of this portable altar, on which is represented a donor portrait of a certain Ruodulfus. That the altar comes from Ipplendorf in the Rhineland "signifies nothing" to Coppier. In his opinion, the work was executed at Verdun because the Chronicle of Verdun mentions for the year 1004 a shrine (with representations, by the way, which are entirely different from those on the portable altar). He further assumes that the name of the donor, Ruodulfus, is to be identified with Rudolf II, "le dernier roy d'Arles et de Bourgogne." On the basis of this identification and of the Carolingian (!) style of the engravings, Coppier proposes to date the altar about the year 930. Actually it belongs to the end of the eleventh century and stylistically may best be connected with the goldsmith-works of the Middle Rhine (cf. Schnitzler's article, reviewed above).

C. Toewe[70] publishes a small liturgical double flask of Fatimid rock crystal in the Treasure of S. Columban, Cologne. It was used for the *oleum chrismale* and the *oleum catechumenorum*. The silver-gilt mounting of the early thirteenth century was probably done in the Cologne atelier that produced the shrines of Sts. Albinus and Ursula. It may be added that two similar Fatimid flasks are mounted on a processional cross in the church of S. Severin, Cologne.

On the basis of his Ph.D. thesis (*Goldschmiedeplastik der Aachener Schreinwerkstatt*, Düren, 1936), H. Schnitzler elaborates his theory that we can observe in the style of the monumental sculptures of the period after 1217 an influence proceeding from west to east, and in the preceding period an east to west influence ("Spätromanische Goldschmiedebildnerei der Aachener Schreine," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, IX, 1936, 88–107). While the sculptures of the north and south transept portals of Chartres still are dependent on Rhenish-Mosan metalwork, the style of the figures of the shrine of the Virgin in Aix-la-Chapelle and the later shrines are already influenced by the sculptures of Chartres and Reims (portal of S. Sixte). Of course, the statues of St. Servatius, Maastricht, which are somewhat related to those on the shrine of the Virgin in Aix-la-Chapelle, are dependent on Chartres. But, on the other hand, one should not forget that the Mosan sculptures of this period also had their own development, a fact which makes Schnitzler's assumption not necessarily

68. "Une plaque d'émail mosan," *Monuments Piot*, XXXV, 1935–1936, 173–78.
69. "Niello-Kelchkuppe des kölner Diözesan Museums und die Reste eines Siegburger Anno-Zyclus," *Kunstgabe des Vereins für christliche Kunst im Erzbistum Köln*, 1937.

70. *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XI, 1939, 81 ff.

conclusive. If he had compared the magnificent silvergilt figures from Treves in the Rylands Library, Manchester, which certainly are not later than Reims but anticipate the style of the portal of S. Sixte, he could hardly have maintained his case. At any rate, the change in the direction of influences observed by Schnitzler is not a specific criterion of Mosan metalwork. It is rather a general criterion of the first half of the thirteenth century, that monumental sculpture and painting, hitherto dependent on the so-called minor arts, assume the leadership and in course of time influence the style of the latter.

Thanks to the efforts of the Abbé J. Lestoquoy, our knowledge of Mosan and trans-Mosan goldsmiths' works of the thirteenth century has greatly increased. See his studies on the reliquaries of the *Chandelle* and *Épine* in Arras,[71] on the cross of Clairemarais, and the reliquary of the tooth of St. Nicholas,[72] on two reliquaries of S. Aldegonde in Maubeuge, now lost, but preserved in drawings of the eighteenth century,[73] and on two reliquaries in the shape of a cylindrical pyxis from Ittre in Brabant (now Brussels, Musée Cinquantenaire) and in the Cathedral of S. Omer.[74] But the Abbé's comparison of the filigree work on these reliquaries with Rhenish filigree is of little assistance in identifying different ateliers and in tracing their artistic connections. Only the Sisyphian task of a very minute stylistic study and technical analysis of thirteenth-century filigree can provide any successful results for a more precise localization and dating of these works. Reliquaries and pyxides of similar shape are to be found in St. Ursula's at Cologne, at Hochelten (Witte, *Rheinische Kunst*, II, 122–24, 148) and, to the best of my recollection, in the museums of Amiens and Bayeux. Furthermore, it may be added that the local Arras provenance of the reliquary of S. Cierge can be corroborated by the fact that the earliest (and most beautiful) reliquary or pyxis, in the Morgan Collection, is also of Arras origin (an elongated cylinder in shape, it is attributed by von Falke to Nicholas of Verdun). For the localization of the pyxis in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which Lestoquoy published together with the reliquary-pyxis of S. Omer, it may be worth while to mention that similar niello plaques are used on the reliquaries in the Treasure of S. Riquier (cf. *Album archéologique de la société des antiquaires de Picardie*, 1886–98).

For the problem of the production of niello work in the trans-Mosan regions, one might also recall the covers of Troyes, MS 2251, and of the Gospels of S. Aure, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal (according to A. M. Friend, from Marchiennes!), and the Cross of Paraclet in the Treasure of Amiens. A thirteenth-century filigree reliquary cross in the collection of P. Nelson, Liverpool, related to this material, is published in the *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX, 1938, 184, pl. LIII.

S. L. Faison publishes the fine silvergilt nielloed reliquary shrine of the Virgin in the Morgan bequest, Metropolitan Museum.[75] He rightly points out the general connection of this reliquary with such Belgian works as the Tournay reliquary in Berlin and with the Virgin of Walcourt, but he does not succeed in a more precise localization of the atelier which produced the Morgan piece. From an iconographic point of view, it may be interesting to note that the Flight into Egypt, represented on the latter, occurs in the same unusual way about fifty years earlier, on an ivory formerly in Lille and now in the Metropolitan Museum (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, IV, 19).

M. C. Ross makes a careful study of the reliquary of St. Amandus, formerly in the Economo collection, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.[76] It is closely connected with the shrine of St. Symphorien. Both works, basically, go back to the latter part of the twelfth century and must have undergone fundamental restorations about a hundred years later, probably in the same atelier. The Gothic figures in low relief on a hatched ground, which occur on both shrines, are related in style to the reliquary of Tournay in Berlin and to the works grouped around the triptychs of Floreffe (Louvre) and Mons. Ross's suggestion of a localization in Tournay seems to be more probable than the rather vague "entre Sambre-Meuse" region to which they have hitherto been given. Ross's study is especially useful, as he gives a great number of historical documents concerning lost reliquaries which were produced in the same region and period (between the years 1240 and 1260). Connected in style with these works are the reliquaries of Montreuil s.M. (cf. J. Lestoquoy, *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de Picardie*, 1939). The far-reaching influence of this production on southeastern Europe is shown by the ciborium and *pacificale* in Budapest and in Spišká, Czecho-Slovakia (*Exhibition of Slovakian Art*, Prague, 1937, nos. 338, 348), or by the early fourteenth-century miniature painting of Lower Austria.

O. Kletzl[77] draws attention to the liturgical and stylistic connections which are to be found among a number of highly important reliquaries. He demonstrates the great productive influence which the famous reliquary of the Holy Cross in Limburg Cathedral (brought in 1204 by the Crusader Balduin of Flanders from Constantinople to the Moselle) had on a number of reliquary panels executed in Treves in the course of the thirteeth century: the panels of St. Matthias (*ca.* 1220), of St. Maximin (now lost; executed between 1212 and 1242), of St. Martin (now at Prague Cathedral, probably executed after 1266). Kletzl suggests that the Cross of Maastricht (now in the Treasure of St. Peter), which also belonged to the booty of Constantinople, secured in 1204, might have influenced the shape of the crosses of Burscheidt, Clairemarais, Namur (Hugo of Oignies), Hohenfurth, S. Trutpert (two crosses, one still in S. Trutpert, the other in the Hermitage, Leningrad), and Rome, Museo Cristiano.

71. *Mémoires de la commission des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais*, 1935, 397 ff.

72. *Bulletin de la commission des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais*, 1938.

73. *Annales de la féderation archéologique de Belgique*, Namur, 1939.

74. *Bulletin des Musées Royaux*, Brussels, XI, 1939, 9 ff.

75. *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, VI, 1936, 133 ff.
76. ART BULLETIN, XVIII, 1936, 187 ff.
77. "Westdeutsche Schatzkunst in Böhmen," *Wallraf-Richarts Jahrbuch*, XI, 1939, 85 ff.

Some additions and corrections may be made to this very important paper. The two gilded bronze covers of Treves, mentioned by Hulley (*Pastor Bonus*, IX, 1897), are now in the Rylands Library, Manchester (reproduced in M. R. James, *Catalogue*, pls. 186, 187). Their beautiful figures are cast from the same mould as those on the cover of the Gospels in Strahow (founded in 1141 by monks from Steinfeld Abbey, near Treves). The motive of the two angels carrying the reliquary panel of the Holy Cross, which occurs on the triptychs of Liège (S. Croix), Paris (Petit Palais, collection Duthuit), and the Victoria and Albert Museum (Soltikoff Collection), is derived from the *Tabula Ancesta*, and can be traced from the pre-Carolingian Gospels in Treves and the Ada School to Echternach and Stavelot miniatures of the eleventh century. The Byzantine reliquary in The Pierpont Morgan Library does not come from Treves, but is mounted on the triptych of Stavelot. The cross in the Museo Cristiano comes from the Abbey Wettingen and probably belonged originally to the Treasure of Thennebach (Black Forest) (cf. D. Rittmeyer, "Kirchenschätze Muri und Wettingen," *Argovia*, XLIV, 1938, 220 ff.). It seems to me to be probably Upper Rhenish work, like the two crosses of S. Trutpert and the Cross of Ittengen in Frauenfeld (Switzerland).

M. C. Ross devotes a careful study to the production of Gothic champlevé enamels and metalwork in Austria from the late thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century.[78] To the rare and fine objects listed by von Falke in 1906 and 1931 and by W. M. Milliken (*Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, XII, 1935, 51), Ross is able to add a considerable number of pieces, chiefly belonging to the Walters collection. For the problem of the western sources of the earliest products of these ateliers, it seems worth while mentioning that the enameled strip on the cross-reliquary in Prague Cathedral, claimed by Ross as Austrian, is as a matter of fact pure Rhenish-Lorraine work. The reliquary was made in and for Treves and was not removed from that city until the eighteenth century. However, comparison with Austrian ivory-carvings (e.g., Agram, Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 97, 98, or Linz, panel of Bishop Salomon), and manuscript illuminations of the early fourteenth century (e.g., Schaffhausen, MS A 8, dated 1330; cf. the Vienna *Jahrbuch*, N.F. VI., 1932, 65) gives ample proof of how soon the style of such goldsmith work became truly Austrian. It may be of interest to add the following objects to the already impressive list of Austrian enamels given by Ross: a reliquary, said to come from Zwettl (Lower Austria), exhibited in the Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art, Springfield Museum, 1941; a portable altar still preserved in the Treasure of the Austrian Abbey of Admont (published in F. Weber, *Kunstgewerbliche Gegenstände der Ausstellung in Steyr*, 1884); four enameled plaques in the church of Donzdorf, not far from Zwiefalten, where a reliquary similar in shape with one of the Austrian objects in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore is still preserved (*Kunstdenkmäler Württemberg, Donaukreis*, I, 1914, 95).

New and important contributions to our knowledge of the art of Rogerus of Helmarshausen are offered by E. Meyer[79] and A. Fuchs.[80] Both authors deal with the outstanding cross in Brilon, which has heretofore completely escaped the attention of students of Romanesque art. The nielloed engravings of the cross are closely related, stylistically, to the works of the school of Rogerus, e.g., the crosses in Berlin (from Herford), Fritzlar, Frankfurt a.M., and Cologne (Modoaldus cross). Meyer's study is especially important for the problem of the relations between the different arts in the Romanesque period. He proves that the whole cycle of bronze sculptures on the Shrine of St. Godehard, Hildesheim, is directly dependent on the engravings of Rogerus' altar in Paderborn, and thus shows how a sculptured cycle is conceived and executed after a linear model. Meyer points out, furthermore, the historical position and the importance of the great Hildesheim shrines, so often unjustly disregarded, for the development of monumental Romanesque sculpture of Lower Saxony. He shows the connections with the cross in Minden as well as with the Crucified Christ of Sigmaringen (now belonging to J. Brummer, New York). Finally, he reproduces two plaques with engravings from a newly-discovered portable altar of the school of Helmarshausen, acquired by the museums of Berlin and Cologne.

A. Herrmann[81] has made a careful study, illustrated with excellent detail photographs, of the candelabrum and antependium supposedly donated to Komburg Abbey by Abbot Hertwig (1103–1138), and probably executed in the last years of his reign. Herrmann compares the bronze figures on both objects with figures in an early twelfth-century Komburg manuscript in Stuttgart, and as a result attributes the former to a local Swabian atelier. The existence of such an atelier in Komburg seems to Herrmann to be proved by Abbot Hertwig's donations of a second antependium and a golden altarcross, both lost in the Thirty Years' War. But the comparison with the Komburg manuscript and with other twelfth-century works of Swabia and the diocese of Würzburg, to which Komburg belonged, are not convincing. The style of the bronze figures, the *opus interasile*, and the niello work have their best parallel in the school of Rogerus of Helmarshausen, especially in the shrine of Godehard in Hildesheim, and the altar-frontals in Denmark, published by Nørdlund (Denmark during this period was artistically very closely connected with Lower Saxony). For the stylistic development, the fact that Komburg was in confraternity with Corvey in Lower Saxony may be significant; and through Corvey, so strongly tied up with Belgian art, may also be explained the sumptuous use of champlevé enamels and *émail brun*, found nowhere else in South German ateliers.

Carl R. Ugglas publishes one of the very few known Romanesque bronze matrices.[82] The piece,

78. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, I, 1938, 71 ff.

79. *Westfalen*, XXV, 1940, 6 ff.
80. *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen an der erzbischöflichen Akademie*, Paderborn, 1940.
81. "Zum Komburger Kronleuchter und Antependium," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1936, 144 ff.
82. *Gotländskt Archiv*, IX, 1937, 62–79.

found on the island of Gotland, represents a seated Christ and is signed *Oti me fecit*. It is probably an imported work from Lower Saxony belonging to the school of Rogerus of Helmarshausen. Helmarshausen was in confraternity with Lund in Sweden, and the matrix might thus have found its way to Gotland.

The famous nielloed chalice of Berthold of Zähringen (1148–1184), from Wilten Abbey in the Tyrol, now in the Vienna Museum, is very carefully studied and reproduced by H. Klapsia.[83] Its various stylistic connections with contemporaneous Rhenish and Lower Saxon art, and especially with objects in the Guelph Treasure of Henry the Lion, are well recognized and analysed. However, Klapsia's dating of the foot of the Guelph cross in the late twelfth century, and the relationship which he assumes existed between it and the handle of the chalice, is not very convincing. The foot of the cross is surely eleventh-century Italian work, like its companion piece in Velletri. It is difficult, by the way, to follow Klapsia's attribution to Cologne of the purely Byzantine ivory carvings of the portable altar in Eichstätt. Furthermore, one would have expected in a study so lavishly illustrated, and one dealing with so many different objects, a closer comparison with the nielloed chalice of Tremessen and with trans-Mosan production.

The largest reliquary in Ireland, the shrine of St. Mauchan, is the object of an excellent study by T. D. Kendrick and the late E. Senior.[84] The shrine itself and its metal ornaments, consisting chiefly of small panels of cloisonné enamel, openwork plaques, and bosses, was probably made at Clonmacnoise about 1130. (The same style and technique can be found on the cross of Cong, dated 1123.) Kendrick's analysis of the "Urnes" and "Ringerike" style of the ornaments is masterly. The cast-bronze figures attached to the shrine are studied by Elisabeth Senior. They belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century, or even to the thirteenth. Miss Senior is right in deriving the style of these figures and of four similar ones, also of Irish provenance, from such monuments as the bronze doors of Novgorod from Magdeburg and the bronze crucifixes of Lower Saxon origin. One may add to these sources a crucifix in the Abbey of S. Jean (reproduced in *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Picardie*, III, 1840, 344, no. XXIV, pl. 9). In this connection, it may be of interest to mention a unique statue of a knight, cast in iron, and with niello inlay, in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore, which was brought to my attention through the kindness of Marvin C. Ross. This object may be best explained as a derivative from the Novgorod doors.

A beautiful figured thirteenth-century bronze spoon in the Guildhall Museum, London, is published by J. B. Ward Perkins.[85] The spoon belongs to the same family as the well-known silver spoons from Torenton, Pevensey, Iona, and Ribe (Denmark), which may safely be dated about 1240. Perkins gives a short but useful survey of the earlier types of spoons from the eleventh century on.

Additional material to that in the first volume of O. von Falke's and E. Meyer's corpus of Romanesque bronze sculptures, *Leuchter und Giessgefässe* (Berlin, 1936; reviewed in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, VI, 1937, 242 ff. and in *Acta Archaeologica*, VI, 1935, 249 ff.) is to be found in the *Antiquaries Journal*, XVIII, 1938, 83, pl. XXXIV (censer top), 184 ff. (crozier head), 406 (equestrian bronze); *ibid.*, XIX, 1939, 300 (equestrian aquamanile); *Acta Archaeologica*, IX, 1938, 176 (horse's head).

A. B. Tonochy publishes "A Medieval Brass Candlestick" (*British Museum Quarterly*, XIII, 1939, 18 ff.). This very beautiful and important object, thirty-seven inches high, is decorated with two figures of youths supporting the pan of the spike and with three openwork panels between the angles of the feet, in which are represented confronted animals (unicorns, horses, camels). As Tonochy suggests, these animals may possibly symbolize the three continents. Although the candlestick comes from the Abbey of Heiligenkreuz (Lower Austria), and is based on a late Romanesque model, the style of the figures proves the work to be of Belgian origin and of the early fifteenth century.

E. Meyer[86] publishes the magnificent brass lectern in the shape of an eagle in Hildesheim Cathedral. He shows its connection with the atelier of the Hildesheim baptismal font and with the eagle fountain in Goslar, and thus establishes its date in the first half of the thirteenth century. Meyer points out the great stylistic differences between the Hildesheim lectern and those from Belgium. The earliest of the latter is the one in Tournay, dated 1383 (cf. C. C. Oman, *Archaeological Journal*, LXXXVII, 1930, 118 ff.; *Pantheon*, XX, 1937, 274; and M. C. Ross, *Pantheon*, XXII, 1938, 290 ff.). Most valuable are Meyer's notes on the later development of Lower-Saxon works in brass (particularly the connection of the baptismal font in Wismar with aquamaniles in Sweden and with the ateliers of Herrmann Keyser in Lübeck, and Hans Apengeter in Kiel and Kolberg, active 1327, 1332, 1344). Not so convincing is his attribution to Hildesheim of the Samson aquamanile formerly in the Figdor collection and now in the Boston Museum. The highly important group to which this aquamanile belongs is certainly connected with Lorraine (cf. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXXVIII, 1940, 67 ff.).

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J. W. CROWFOOT, *Early Churches in Palestine*, London, for the British Academy, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. ix+166; 22 text figures+30 plate pages and a map. $3.25.

The Schweich Lectures of 1937 for the British Academy, given by the late Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, were published last year in this convenient, and indeed indispensable, volume.

83. *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, Vienna, N.F. XII, 1938, 7 ff.
84. *Archaeologia*, LXXXVI, 1936, 105 ff.
85. *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX, 1939, 313.

86. *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, VI, 1939, 87 ff.

Mr. Crowfoot makes it clear that outside of Jerusalem and Caesaraea, the progress of Christianity in Palestine was not rapid, so that the ordinary churches due to native effort were, like the one at Dura Europos, small and perhaps rather casual for a long time. It is believed, however, that Christians in the capital had a spacious church resembling a synagogue, which was destroyed in Hadrian's time; a large church must have been built early at Caesaraea, which remains unexcavated, and about the year 314 another was built by Bishop Paulinus of Nola at Tyre. This building was monumental enough in character to rate a panegyric from Eusebius. Thus there was some preparation in local architecture for the famous Constantinian foundations of 326 and later years.

We sing so often about Jerusalem the Golden, and think so often of it as the centre of our religious world, that it is rather a shock to learn that Old St. Peter's in Rome had about ten times the area of the Martyrion, which Constantine built as the main church of the Jerusalem community. The reviewer has studied the archaeological evidence for this building and the adjoining Rotunda of the Anastasis with great care, and two of his pupils have made study models of it. Many features remain without elucidation, but it is clear that the group did not possess the truly classic nobility of line and proportion which we associate with Old St. Peter's: in short, it seems to have been local, as Crowfoot suggests, rather than imperial in character. Anyone who has worked with the Sepulchre material will understand why Crowfoot follows the excellent description by Vincent and Abel, but it should be remarked that these authors have published some very unsatisfactory drawings. Crowfoot does well to avoid reproducing their restorations of the Holy Sepulchre buildings, which are frankly naïve in some respects. The problem of the ἡμισφαίριον at the head of the Martyrion church comes in, as always when this ensemble is discussed. Vincent and Abel believe that it was named from its half "σφαίριον" or dome, over a semi-cylindrical space; Crowfoot makes it circular in plan, which is defensible; but after weighing the probabilities with careful reference to other great churches in Syria, this reviewer concluded that a deep apse like the one at Zebed is most likely. The matter hinges in part on the difficult interpretation of the buildings shown at the left side of the famous S. Pudenziana mosaic in Rome, long since recognized as representing the Sepulchre group.

Crowfoot makes the brilliant suggestion that the balancing group on the right is the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, rather than the churches on the Mount of Olives as has been thought. This suggestion accords with later custom in Roman mosaic design, and it agrees with the finds made in the excavations at Bethlehem. A quite reasonable superstructure scheme can be evolved from the mosaic picture if the bold battlemented range with little spots above it be accepted as the mistaken repair of a Doric entablature continuing from the octagon on to *the aisles* of the church. Vincent's inept restoration is reproduced by Crowfoot; and, regrettably, he accepts Vincent's monstrous proposal of a vast tre-

foil sanctuary scheme, supposedly begun and abandoned. The curved walls found in the excavations rather suggest parts of exedras like those of the Forum of Augustus in Rome, and may be connected with an unexecuted plan to systematize an open area about the Grotto of the Nativity.

Jeffrey identified the polygonal structure in the S. Pudenziana mosaic as the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Now it is understood that this octagon was post-Constantinian, and that the "Eleona" basilica alone goes back to the first Christian emperor. Crowfoot reproduces Vincent's rather unprofessional section beside his more trustworthy plan of this building. Mambre, the fourth Constantinian foundation, is not illustrated, since it has not been fully reported.

The interesting third chapter of the book under review shows Palestine as a microcosm exemplifying the general development of church architecture in the period from the fourth to the seventh century. A few great churches with an orderly setting; many churches with little heed paid to that feature, especially in the fifth century, when the churches multiplied so rapidly; round, octagonal, polyfoil, and cruciform plans for the great churches; many basilicas, some of them compound, some built of secondary material. We are taken to Jerash, where Crowfoot did fine work of excavation. The engaging architectural record of these three chapters occupies 101 pages. A generous section of 55 pages is given to the materials and the decoration, especially the numerous mosaics, which the author knows very well and illustrates abundantly.

Finally there is the charmingly presented and obviously authoritative "Retrospect," which reviews the whole history of the great church-building movement in Palestine, and bespeaks for it "a separate niche, though it may be only a small one, in the history of religious architecture." The reader has been pleased to note a wealth of archaeological material, well reported, but the author pauses to remark that only "two churches happen to be still erect, at Bethlehem and Ezra; the latter is indescribably forlorn; neither gives the faintest conception of the beauty we have lost." He brings out clearly the fact that the Palestinian church style really came to fruition in the great Moslem buildings of a later age, and has moving words to say about the pathetic decline of Christian fortunes, which may be read as easily in the ruin of fair churches, as in the historical accounts.

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THOMAS E. TALLMADGE, *Architecture in Old Chicago*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press [c1941]. Pp. xiii +218, illus.; 28 plates. $3.00.

Whether American architecture be considered in terms of great architects and great monuments or in terms of major developments of structure and functional type, Chicago has had a peculiarly important place in the American building scene. And this importance has been recurrently, if not continuously, recognized in American writing about architecture.

Harriet Monroe's early biography of her brother-in-law, Root, is somewhat disappointing reading today, and Charles H. Moore emphasized, in his two volumes on Burnham, those aspects of Burnham's career which represent apostasy to present-day admirers of Chicago architecture. With Hugh Morrison's *Sullivan* (1935) began a new and more serious consideration of the "Chicago School" in relation to the work of one architect who has often been considered its particular genius. Finally, last year, appeared two books which give more general consideration to the Chicago building story with less emphasis on individual protagonists: one, Sigfried Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture*, devotes its most important section, "Part v: American Development," to the episodes of the "invention" of balloon frame construction in the 1830's and of the "Commercial Style" leading to the skyscraper in the 1880's and 1890's; the other is Tallmadge's *Architecture in Old Chicago*. This book, issued after Tallmadge's death, attempts a more continuous account of building in Chicago from the first log-built Fort Dearborn of 1803 to the climax of the skyscraper development in the early 'nineties, literally in the phrase of the German title of Lewis Mumford's *Sticks and Stones*, *Vom Blockhaus bis zum Wolkenkratzer*.

There are many weaknesses in this posthumous book for which Tallmadge should hardly be held responsible. And the committee which prepared the book for publication should rather be thanked for making the text available as Tallmadge left it at his death than blamed for not attempting the drastic revisions which would have been necessary to clarify the organization, remove ambiguities, and reinforce important historical points. Only Tallmadge could have done that; and he might well have spent several more years at the job had he lived. The book is sparsely illustrated; but it is not merely the sparseness which is regrettable—it is after all no more disappointing than in many other architectural books—but the incoherent relationship between the illustrations and the text. Doubtless this could not be avoided, since the draft of the text which Tallmadge left was obviously not sufficiently advanced always to make plain just which buildings most needed illustration. Many students will find it worth while to supplement the inadequate illustrations by reference to the rich fund of pictures and diagrams in Part v of Giedion's work. It is more difficult but equally desirable to search the files of the *Inland Architect* (if one can find them) for the decade after its beginning in 1883. But only correlation with the iconographic sources to which Tallmadge had access at the Chicago Historical Society and the Burnham Library would make much of the discussion and the descriptions in his second and third chapters really intelligible.

The discussion of balloon frame construction essentially parallels that of Giedion, but no mention is made of St. Mary's Church as the first example. Indeed, what I suppose must be a double misprint of the dates on page 56 gives at first reading the impression that the 1833 St. Mary's was of masonry. Neither Giedion nor Tallmadge discuss possible earlier developments here or in England leading to-ward balloon frame construction, nor attempt any estimate of the rapidity with which the new method of wooden building spread. One wonders, also, if there is not some significance in the fact—if it be a fact—that Chicago builders (and presumably builders farther to the west) passed directly from log construction to balloon frame construction without becoming habituated to conventional peg-framed construction at all. Certainly the "invention" of George Washington Snow deserves still further investigation, particularly for the hint that he, a lumber dealer, imposed it by providing builders only with small-dimensioned members unsuitable for what was then considered sound construction. If this be true, he thus initiated a domination of building practice by dealers in materials which has been in most cases anything but desirable.

Tallmadge has the courage to devote a long chapter to the High Victorian period from 1855 to 1880. Unfortunately he is torn between the local piety which leads him to list innumerable buildings and their architects, which he can neither illustrate nor adequately characterize, and the lack of real sympathy for the period which is common to his generation of American architects. Yet some of his illustrations speak very well for themselves. Crosby's Opera House of the mid-'sixties by Boyington was evidently a building which would have been an ornament to any city, American or European, of the period. Cudell's Aldine Square of 1874 is an urban development of considerable distinction, far more worthy of fame than his Rush Street house for Cyrus McCormick. Burling's Chamber of Commerce of 1865 also has considerable quality, as Tallmadge recognizes. But though he thus brings to our attention certain works that are not widely known, he tends in his discussions to lose himself in the entertaining but largely meaningless stylistic jargon of the time.

His attempt to fill in the background with loose references to the list of books in Richardson's library —which he obtained from me—does not help very much. The earlier Chicago architects' libraries of the period were burned in the fire of 1871, but he makes no attempt to reconstitute the libraries which must have been gathered after that date. However, his attention to the bibliography of the period, as to that of the preceding period, is praiseworthy even though his references are very inaccurate as published. It is unfortunate that the committee did not call on Mrs. Herzog of the Burnham Library to check these passages which include the only too usual confusion of the elder with the younger Pugin and of Lefèvre with Lafever as well as many misspellings. It is also a question whether such references, unsupported by comparative illustration, prove much except to the few who know intimately this nineteenth-century literature and the American and foreign magazines of the period. Of his treatment of the High Victorian in Chicago, we may say that Tallmadge has seen the necessity of grasping the nettle of its eclectic "bad taste," but that he has grasped it so gingerly that he and his readers still receive many tingling shocks.

This reviewer, as will most who use this book, turned first to the chapter on the period 1880–1893,

somewhat curiously entitled "Romance." This was the classic moment in Chicago, and on this period the biographers of Chicago architects have usually expended their best efforts. Yet I think it is commonly agreed that Giedion has given us the best general account thus far of the "Commercial Style" and the beginnings of the skyscraper. But students of Giedion as well as students of the earlier literature will find some points of real value here. It is certainly worth having the woodcut of the Montauk Block by Burnham and Root of 1882 taken from Andreas' *History of Chicago*. The series of paragraphs on its successors among the "elevator buildings," the Calumet, the First National Bank, the Pullman, the Counselman, the Mallers, the Phoenix, the Rookery, and the Studebaker, by Burnham and Root, S. S. Beman, Burling and Whitehouse, J. J. Flanders and others, preceding the discussion of Adler and Sullivan's Dexter and Auditorium Buildings is of value to those who know the story of the 'eighties too simply in terms of either Adler and Sullivan's work or what might be called the main skyscraper line. It is also significant news that, as Tallmadge proves, the immediate second step in that famous line, coming a year after the completion of Jenney's Home Insurance Building, was the use of true skeleton construction in the courtyard walls of the Rookery, built by Burnham and Root in 1885. And Tallmadge is also surely just in giving more credit to the commercial work of Adler and Sullivan before the Auditorium than does Giedion, without attempting the perhaps impossible discrimination as to which of the partners deserves credit for its great virtues.

Of remarkable interest is Tallmadge's claim, based on information from Paul Mueller, long Adler and Sullivan's engineer and later Wright's engineer on the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, that the system by which the metal skeleton supports the terra cotta facing of the Tacoma Building was not derived from the Home Insurance Building, but was instead that just worked out by the North Western Terra Cotta Company for the wide and many-storeyed hanging bays on the early projects for the Auditorium Building which were omitted when construction actually began in 1887.

Thus two links, the court of the Rookery of 1885 and the projected bays of the Auditorium as first designed in 1886, are added to the chain of the early development of the skyscraper. Tallmadge to be sure, gives inadequate attention to such slightly later structures as the Leiter Building of 1889 and the Fair Store of 1891, both by Jenney and Mundie, in which it seems to Giedion, an admirer particularly of what has been called "naïve materialism" in Chicago architecture, that the development of the skyscraper first reached its culmination, rather than in the Wainwright Building and the later works of Sullivan —also neglected by Tallmadge.

Tallmadge's story comes to an end abruptly about 1891. We may assume that had he lived, he would have continued it at least through the days of the World's Fair and perhaps on down into the period after 1898 in which he himself played a part. His book is a rough fragment—rougher perhaps than it has seemed just to indicate in this review. But it is a valuable fragment just the same. May it inspire other Chicagoans to round out and reinterpret the story, for the story is an important one and has not yet been so frequently worked over—above all in the periods before 1880—that scholarship turns to pedantry and offers with more and more precision of detail less and less of interest and value. Nor is the architectural story of the skyscraper as completely Chicago's as Giedion and Tallmadge imply. Let us hope as well for equal attention to parallel developments in other cities in the 'eighties and 'nineties.

<div style="text-align: right">HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK
Wesleyan University</div>

WILLIAM SAWITZKY, *Catalogue Descriptive and Critical of the Paintings and Miniatures in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1942. Pp. viii +285; 63 plates. $5.00.

There has been too often in the past a divergence of interest on the part of our historians and of our students of American art; a divergence which has led to careless misattributions of American paintings by the historians (often too prone to accept unreliable opinions on matters of style), and which has also caused more than one art critic to err badly for lack of adequate historical background. That this gap can be bridged most profitably has been well attested by the distinguished work, recently completed by William Sawitzky, one of our most able scholars of American art, in cataloguing the paintings and miniatures of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The *Catalogue*, listing over six hundred items, has a threefold interest for the student of American history and art. First, it publishes in condensed and well organized form (with occasional illustrations) a number of well-known paintings of unusual merit— pictures which are milestones in the development of our native school. In the second place, it discusses many works of more esoteric interest, such as the products of unknown artists, or portraits of special iconographical significance. Third, and perhaps most interesting, it embraces a sizeable group of pictures which the author has re-attributed on the basis of stylistic or documentary grounds (often both), cogently discussed in appended notes.

Among the pictures noteworthy for their intrinsic quality, perhaps the finest is Copley's double portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Mifflin, painted in Boston in 1773. Lost to sight for a number of years, the picture has been the bone of some contention; the late Charles Henry Hart doubted even its existence, contending quite erroneously that Copley " . . . certainly did not paint Governor Mifflin and wife in 1773, for Mifflin is not credited with having a wife." Other less obvious errors have crept into the publication of this picture, even in recent times, and it is good to see these disposed of here in orderly fashion.

Another likeness of Mifflin as a younger man, one of the rare portraits done by Benjamin West before leaving America, may also rank among the important items in the collection. Formerly attributed to Wollaston, its slant eyes and rather puffy face are

interesting evidence of that peripatetic painter's influence on the young Philadelphian.

Also of the Revolutionary period, Charles Willson Peale is well represented with twelve characteristic portraits. Perhaps the most attractive of these are the early ones, particularly that depicting Mrs. John Dickinson and daughter, dated 1773. There is a peculiarly native quality in the work of Peale, apparent here in the charming landscape background with its glimpse of road, fence, and barn. This was something of an innovation compared to the formal English parks which were still the conventional backdrops of the time, and it more than offsets the rather absurd pose of the child, balanced precariously on a high, scarf-draped pedestal.

To the roster of important paintings must be added Robert Feke's likeness of Mrs. William Peters, the four brilliant Stuarts, all products of his nine-year sojourn in Philadelphia, and, in the nineteenth century, several excellent portraits by Neagle and Sully. The latter's small but spirited sketch of Andrew Jackson and his sensitive *Self Portrait* rank high in his total *oeuvre*.

While these are the highlights, there is perhaps greater interest for the student of American art in the more obscure paintings of the collection. The author calls attention in his "Foreword," for instance, to the accomplished and decorative *Self Portrait* by John Meng, who died of yellow fever in the West Indies at the age of twenty. While his output was presumably small, it may well have numbered more than the three examples owned by the Society —the only ones so far discovered. Born in 1834 at Germantown, he may, Mr. Sawitzky thinks, have been taught to paint by John Hesselius, some six years his senior, and it seems likely that more of his paintings will still come to light in the town of his birth.

Another painter whose existence is established only by work in the Society's collection is S. F. Earl. His signature and the date, 1846, appear on the portrait of George Lippard, the extraordinary liberal who startled Philadelphia when he married Rose Newman in the following year "by the simple ceremony of taking her hand." Three other Earls worked in this country, but none with these initials, and no biographical information has yet been found concerning him.

A painter whose identity is even more obscure, though many examples of his work are known, is the author of the companion portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Lawrence, *ca.* 1720–30. Mr. Sawitzky links these to the portrait of Mrs. Petrus Vas in Albany, which was singled out by the late Charles X. Harris in 1921 as a "key picture" by Pieter Vanderlyn. Harris' argument has not yet been generally accepted, since it is based only on family tradition and the fact that Mrs. Vas was Vanderlyn's mother-in-law; indeed, Mr. Sawitzky feels, I know—although he does not go into this aspect of the problem here— that the present evidence is not sufficient even to establish the fact that Vanderlyn was a painter at all. It is illuminating, however, to find two more works by this "unknown" to add to the list of some twenty-five which the author has so far identified.

Finally, one might include in the group of minor but highly interesting works the portrait of Johannes Kelpius by Dr. Christopher Witt, scholar and amateur artist, which—if painted about 1705, as the author believes—is perhaps the earliest Pennsylvania portrait in oil extant. To this may be added a group of six portraits by Gustavus Hesselius, including his likeness of himself, and a number of early views and subject pictures, such as a pair of Krimmel's rare water-colors, several marines by Thomas Birch, John A. Woodside's *Lemon Hill* of 1807, and William Strickland's accomplished *Christ Church* of 1811.

The last category of pictures which demands attention consists of some forty canvases which have been re-attributed on the basis of recent study to more plausible authors (though the Society misses fourteen of these in its *Index of Attributions*). A good example is the portrait of William Plumsted, originally given to Copley (incredible as that now seems) in the era of less stringent scholarship, more recently assigned to Robert Feke, and finally identified by both Alan Burroughs and Sawitzky as a highly characteristic Wollaston.

Perhaps the most absorbing problem, however, is that posed by a group of three portraits depicting Robert Morris, Sr., Mrs. Thomas Freame, and Mrs. William Penn. The three are patently by the same hand and have for many years been ascribed to Gustavus Hesselius on the basis, largely, of a letter of 1742 mentioning the last two as " . . . the best I ever saw of Hesseliu's Painting . . . ." While they do bear a certain resemblance to this artist's work, Sawitzky feels, quite justly, that they are too crude, particularly in draughtsmanship and in the odd proportions of the bodies with their over-large heads and small hands. He reaches the conclusion, therefore, that they are probably the work of John Hesselius, who would have been a boy of fourteen or slightly younger at the time and who might have already started painting under his father's guidance. On the whole, this attribution seems eminently acceptable, particularly since the *Mrs. Freame* does bear a certain embryonic resemblance to the artist's later work. There are, as I see it, only two qualifications to be considered before agreeing wholly with the attribution. First, there is the fact that no other paintings of as early a date (with which these might be compared) have yet been discovered; indeed, the first signed and dated example in the Bolton and Groce check list is some eight years later, while the portrait of Mrs. John Redman (also in the Society's collection and attributed by Sawitzky to this artist) is seven years later. In the second place, the wording of the letter quoted above, " . . . the best I ever saw of Hesseliu's Painting . . . ," suggests, at least by implication, that the writer was comparing the pictures in hand with a certain body of other work from the same brush. While this is not impossible, it does seem a little unlikely that a fourteen-year old student could have produced many comparable likenesses previous to these.

In the group of re-attributed pictures, there are a number to which it has been impossible to give new names (often because they are the work of amateurs

or very minor men), but from which the author has succeeded in removing the over-ambitious labels of the past. Among the most illuminating are several cases which demonstrate the vital necessity of a knowledge of the evolution of costume in the critical study of our art. A good example is the portrait of Sir William Penn, long attributed to Van Dyck on the basis of a statement from its former owner. Yet the painting shows a sitter wearing a type of wig and lace cravat adopted only in the second half of the seventeenth century, while Van Dyck died in 1641. A similar case, though involving only the identity of the subject, is the alleged portrait of William Penn, the Founder. Thus identified, without any apparent proof since its "discovery" fifty years ago, it has been frequently published, reproduced, engraved, exhibited, and even copyrighted as such, in spite of the fact that the gentleman depicted wears a flat,

turned-over collar and pigeon-wing wig, unknown before 1750—some thirty years after Penn's death.

Examples could be multiplied, but this is perhaps sufficient to give some idea of the scope of the Society's collection and of the accurate, usable, and eminently workmanlike job which Mr. Sawitzky has done in publishing it. The only criticism of the *Catalogue* which can be made—and this must be borne, I have discovered, by the Society and not by the author—is that the number and, to some extent, the selection of the plates is disappointing. In spite of this, the work stands out as a model of what may be accomplished by the collaboration of a liberal Society of this kind and a discerning art historian and critic.

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LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

SUMNER MCKNIGHT CROSBY, *The Abbey of St.-Denis 475–1122*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. xxi+211; 31 plates+35 figs. $7.00.

SAMUEL A. IVES and HELLMUT LEHMANN-HAUPT, *An English 13th Century Bestiary, A New Discovery in the Technique of Medieval Illumination* (*Rare Books, Notes on the History of Old Books and Manuscripts*, Supplement No. 1), New York, H. P. Kraus, 1942. Pp. 45+8 plates. $1.85.

LOUIS V. LEDOUX, *Japanese Prints of the Primitive Period in the Collection of Louis V. Ledoux*, New York, E. Weyhe, 1942. Pp. 79 (not numbered) +50 plates (20 in color). $20.00.

JEAN LIPMAN, *American Primitive Painting*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 158, including 94 plates (8 in color). $5.00.

ROBERT H. MC CAULEY, *Liverpool Designs on Anglo-American Pottery*, Portland, Maine, The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1942. Pp. xviii+150; 32 plates. $7.50.

CHARLES R. MOREY, *Early Christian Art, An Outline of the Evolution of Style and Iconography in Sculpture and Painting from Antiquity to the Eighth Century*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. ix+282; 70 plates. $7.50.

ROGER HALE NEWTON, *Town & Davis, Architects, Pioneers in American Revivalist Architecture 1812–1870, Including a Glimpse of Their Times and Their Contemporaries*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xx+333; 25 plates. $4.00.

Raphael's Paintings, with text by W. E. Suida (*Phaidon Edition*), New York, Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 33; 120 plates (17 in color). $4.50.